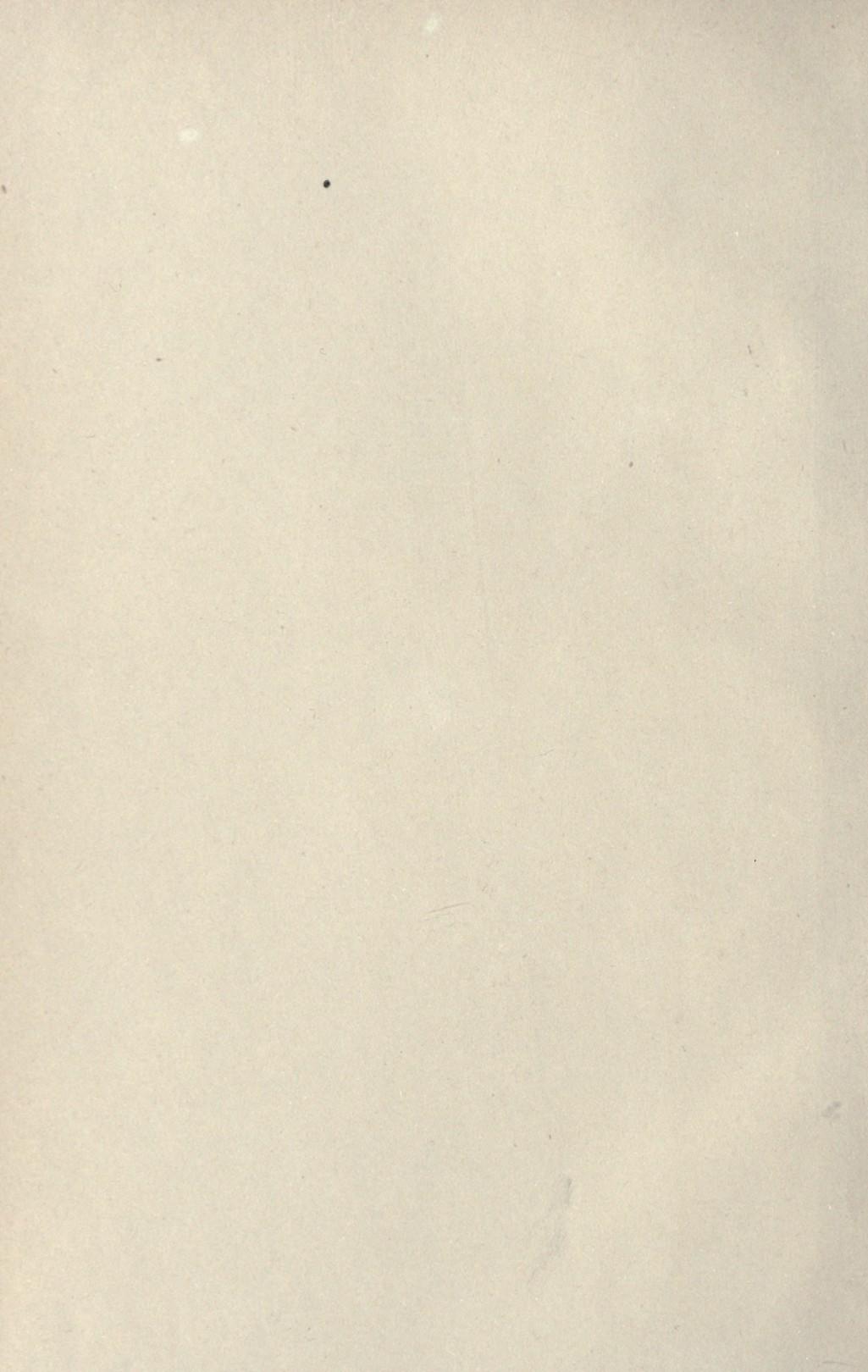


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THE CHILD KRISHNA IN A SWING.

His two feet and left hand support the child on the flat surface of the cage which is supported by four chains fastened to an arch above. In his right hand he holds a lump of butter. A favorite mode of worship on the part of Hindu women is to give the child a swing. The art is of the rudest description, illustrating, however, the popularity of the god.

THE
BIBLICAL WORLD

EDITOR

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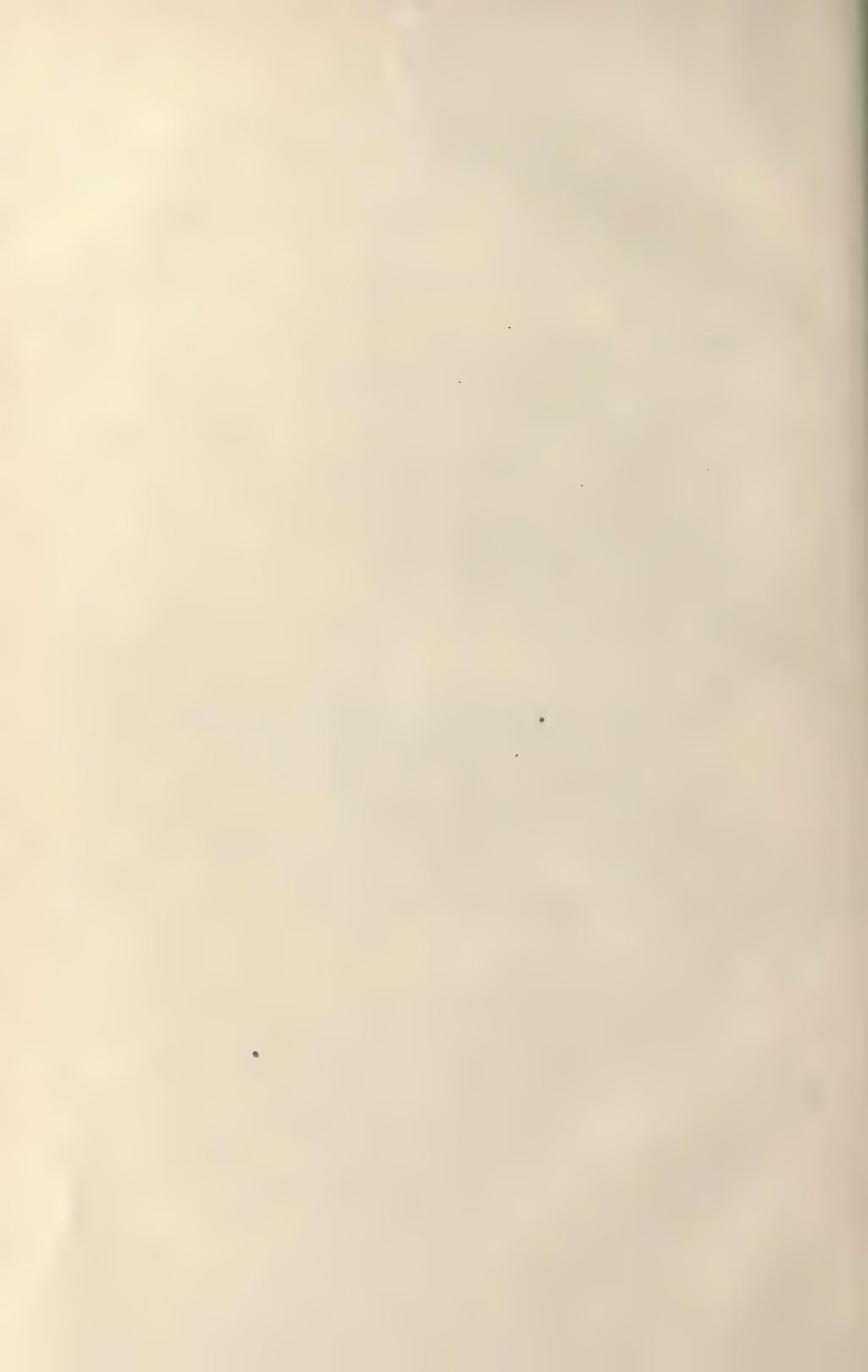
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THE BIBLICAL WORLD

CONTINUING

The Old and New Testament Student

VOLUME IX.

JANUARY, 1897

NUMBER 1

THERE are now three sisters—THE BIBLICAL WORLD, THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES, and

THE THREE JOURNALS THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY—two older sisters, and a sister just born. The youngest member

in the family often takes at birth the most important position. Perhaps this will be true of the JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY. THE BIBLICAL WORLD (born under the name, *The Hebrew Student*) is nearly fifteen years old. Very early in its history it was found necessary to make a sharp distinction between historical and theological articles, and articles of a linguistic and exegetical nature involving the use of Greek and Hebrew type. For the publication of the latter, *Hebraica* (now THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES) was instituted. But the time has come when another distinction must be made, namely, that which exists between (1) articles of a popular character for the information of those whose interest has been quickened in Bible study and who desire to know the latest results of biblical investigation, and (2) articles of a more technical nature, furnishing contributions toward the settlement of the more important problems in the various fields of theological science. The new theological journal is ushered into existence under auspices particularly happy. The unanimity of sentiment with respect to the need of such a journal is no greater than the unanimity of consent on the part of the theological workers of our own and other countries

to unite in establishing it. Its publication will permit the editors of THE BIBLICAL WORLD to go even further than they have gone in making the pages of the latter journal brighter and more attractive. Articles which, perhaps, deserve the title "heavy" will henceforth find their place in THE JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY. The special subscription price for THE JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY to subscribers of THE BIBLICAL WORLD will make it possible for those who so desire, to have both journals. If THE JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY shall be accorded the same courteous treatment at the hands of the public which has been given to its older sisters, the editors will be satisfied.

First question: Does the Bible deserve to be studied as thoroughly as, for example, English history or English literature; and if a student in college should take time *UNIVERSITY CREDIT FOR ENGLISH BIBLE WORK* for such study and perform it satisfactorily, should he not receive credit for the same?

Second question: Is it not legitimate from the point of view of Sunday observance, to use a portion of the day for study of the Bible, and is it not as legitimate to perform such study thoroughly and with a view to permanent results, as to perform it superficially and without expectation of accomplishing anything?

Third question: Would it not be a good plan for the officers of instruction in our many Christian institutions to offer courses of Bible study to be given Sunday morning by competent instructors and to count as a part of the regular prescribed curriculum? Would this be an experiment? Perhaps so. But would it not be a legitimate experiment? It is at all events an experiment which The University of Chicago will try. Beginning with the first Sunday in January, two courses of university study will be offered to students of The University, one upon the subject "Prophecy and the History of Prophecy," and one upon the subject "The Life of Christ." Nearly one hundred students have registered for each of these courses. The student, if he attends the exercise regularly and performs the work to the satisfaction of the instructor, will be given credit for the work in the same proportion as for any other work offered in The University. The

hours of instruction are at 8:30 and 9:30 in the morning in order that they may not interfere with church services. It is distinctly announced that the work required in preparation will be severe in character, including written exercises. Someone, of course, will suggest that this is an infringement upon the sacredness of Sunday. It need only be said in reply, such infringement should be encouraged, at least until our college students have been given a knowledge of the simplest facts of biblical history and biblical literature, a knowledge which nine-tenths of them lack, and until our Christian institutions have come to realize that they were founded to teach this very Bible, which at present occupies so small a place in the curriculum. It might be possible for such work to be conducted with no more of a religious spirit and with no more spiritual profit than a course in trigonometry, but such is not the purpose of the courses proposed. The work is undertaken with the single thought in mind, to enable the students to know God in his dealings with man as illustrated in the history of the chosen people and in the peculiar events connected with the life and times of Jesus Christ. Is it not an experiment worth trying?

Is there anything more difficult than to provide a religious service for the members of a university? These members, it will be remembered, include (1) instructors engaged *A UNIVERSITY VESPER SERVICE* in the study of problems in all the more important fields of knowledge, problems which are largely theoretical; (2) students whose whole thought is self-improvement and whose attitude of mind is being largely modified by their contact with problems hitherto unappreciated. They are men and women whose time is wholly occupied in thinking, and thinking, at least for the time being, introduces doubt and skepticism. Ordinarily, it is suggested, such a body needs the simplest gospel. No one will doubt the truth of this suggestion, but the question is, in what manner may the simple gospel be best presented. Only one preacher in a hundred can preach acceptably to a university audience, because the chief ambition of ninety-nine preachers out of a hundred in the present

generation is to utter something which will attract the ignorant and untrained mind, rather than to preach truth which will cultivate and edify the trained mind. But when all this has been said the difficulty still remains. University authorities throughout the country recognize this difficulty as, in many respects, the most serious connected with university administration. Two facts seem to enter into the solution of the problem: (1) that which has just been cited, the importance of presenting the gospel, (2) the importance of presenting it in a way which will attract those who are able and willing to think. The gospel may be presented and nothing accomplished. What is needed is the presentation of the gospel and the stimulation of thought. An effort to accomplish these two things will be made at The University of Chicago during the Winter Quarter. On Sunday afternoons at 4 o'clock, twelve addresses of forty-five minutes will be given on successive Sundays upon the subject, "The idea of life after death and its influence upon conduct and character." The outline of the course is as follows:

- (1) A general address based upon the proposition that thought influences life and character, with illustrations of the proposition, by Professor Albion W. Small.
- (2) How conduct and character were influenced among primitive men by their conception of the future life, by Professor William I. Thomas.
- (3) What the Egyptians believed about life after death and how they were affected by the belief, by Dr. James H. Breasted.
- (4) The ideas of the Assyrians and Babylonians concerning the future life and its effect upon their life and character, by Professor E. T. Harper, Chicago Theological Seminary.
- (5) The ideas of the Indians and Persians concerning the future life and the effect upon their life and character, by Professor George S. Goodspeed.
- (6) The ideas of the Greeks and Romans concerning the future life and the effect upon their life and character, by Professor Paul Shorey.
- (7) The ideas of the Mohammedans concerning the future life, etc., by Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch.
- (8) The ideas of the Hebrews as found in the Old Testament concerning the future life, etc., by Professor William

R. Harper. (9) The idea of the future life as presented in the New Testament, by Professor E. D. Burton. In each of these historical studies the question will be asked and answered, so far as may be possible, how the holding of such and such an opinion concerning the future life affected the conduct and character of the people. (10) The idea of the future life as it presents itself in modern literature, by Dr. Frank W. Gunsaulus. (11) The question of the future life from the point of view of modern science, by Professor Thomas C. Chamberlin. (12) The question of the future life from the point of view of modern philosophy, by Professor McKenzie, Chicago Theological Seminary. May the simplest gospel be presented in these addresses? Surely the death of Jesus Christ and his resurrection is the most fundamental factor constituting the gospel, and just as surely every speaker who discusses the question must bring himself and his auditors face to face with this great fact of history. Will the consideration of such themes lead men to think? Surely such a series of historical studies will bring men face to face with the best and truest conceptions of past history, and just as surely those who listen will be compelled to think, not only because other men have thought, but because of their own personal interest in the question. Another experiment? No. It is nothing new to plan for a series of addresses which will represent truth and compel thinking men to think.

IT was an event of no ordinary significance—the first annual meeting of the Council of Seventy. Meetings of investigators are not uncommon and especially of biblical investigators. But this meeting was made up of teachers,—men whose whole lives had been consecrated to the teaching of the Bible in one form or another; and the question asked again and again was not, What does this passage mean, and how may this question be answered, but rather, How may this truth be conveyed to the minds of those who stand in need of it? The round-table discussion on Bible study in college was, we venture to say, one of the best ever conducted upon that subject. The experiences of many teachers in many

*THE ANNUAL
MEETING OF
THE COUNCIL
OF SEVENTY.*

institutions were related. The suggestion dwelt upon that the literary study of the Bible was after all not the study of its external form, but rather of its very essence, was timely and greatly needed. What is literature? The utterance of the soul. And what is biblical literature? The divine utterance through the human soul, a soul illuminated by the conception of God which has been granted it.

A new light was shed upon that oft discussed question as to the use of the Revised Version, and more clearly than ever before did it seem to some of us that the man who today uses other than the Revised Version is criminally guilty of concealing light which God in his providence has shed upon his own revelation. And then there were discussed the difficulties of the Bible teacher of today, how many and how peculiar; the best books, for a pastor's library and the Sunday-school library, bearing upon the interpretation of the Bible; the best order in which the great subjects of Bible study might most satisfactorily be considered. These and other important questions for the Bible teacher were considered long and thoughtfully. The meeting face to face of men who had known each other by name and had not met; and the communion of soul with soul, and of soul with God in prayer—these, and many other benefits, were the privilege of those who attended this important meeting. The Council of Seventy has taken upon itself a most responsible work. It is composed, however, of men who have the courage and the strength to face difficulties however great. May the work which they have taken under their care be prospered in the future as in the past, and may tens of thousands through the influence of this work be added to the numbers of those who have been guided into a living conception of sacred truth.

THE IDEAL CHILDHOOD IN NON-CHRISTIAN RELIGIONS.

By GEORGE S. GOODSPEED,
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Childhood stories of the founders of religions appear in all faiths.—Buddha.—Mohammed.—Confucius.—Zoroaster.—Lao-tse.—Krishna.—Significance of these accounts.

THE opening chapters of the synoptic gospels, containing the narratives of the birth and early life of our Lord, form a picture of ideal childhood which has shaped the ideas of Christianity, and affected its sentiments concerning children, as well as formed a favorite subject of sacred art and literature and for devout contemplation. But Christianity is not peculiar in cherishing the recollections of the childhood of its founder. Other religions whose beginnings go back to personal founders have narratives covering the same field, with the same vivid appreciation. And the interest which in the mind of the Christian centers about the early life of Jesus prepares him to listen at least with curiosity to the stories of ideal childhood in the other religions.

These accounts it is proposed here briefly to summarize in their main outlines. The most detailed and most easily accessible material on this subject deals with the birth and childhood of Buddha, Mohammed, and Confucius, while, in respect to Zoroaster, Lao-tse, and others, the traditions are less full. There is gathered also about the Hindu deity Krishna a mass of stories of his childhood which may be briefly referred to. It will be seen by the illustrations accompanying this sketch that art has sought to reproduce these traditions. They form, also, a favorite subject for literary and poetic treatment among the peoples of these various faiths.

THE BUDDHA.¹

When the appointed time came for the Buddha to take up his earthly life and bring salvation to mankind, it was decided that he should be born of the Queen Maya, wife of King Suddhodana. In beauty of body and soul she was surpassing. Modest and chaste, without error, holy, pure, "strong and calm of purpose as the earth, pure in mind as the water lily," she was fitted to be the mother of the Master. In a dream she was apprised of her high destination. An elephant, brilliantly white like snow and silver, appeared before her, carrying in his trunk a white lily, and, as she lay absorbed in the joy of contemplation, it seemed to enter her right side.² Wise men interpreted her dream. She was to be the mother of one whose destiny was to be the Buddha. Ten months thereafter she was walking in the Lumbini grove. As she approached the splendid Plakcha tree, it bowed itself to salute her. She grasped its branches; at that instant the lightning flashed in heaven; and the child was born from his mother's right side. Divine beings drew about the scene a sacred covering and made ready to receive and care for their newly born king.

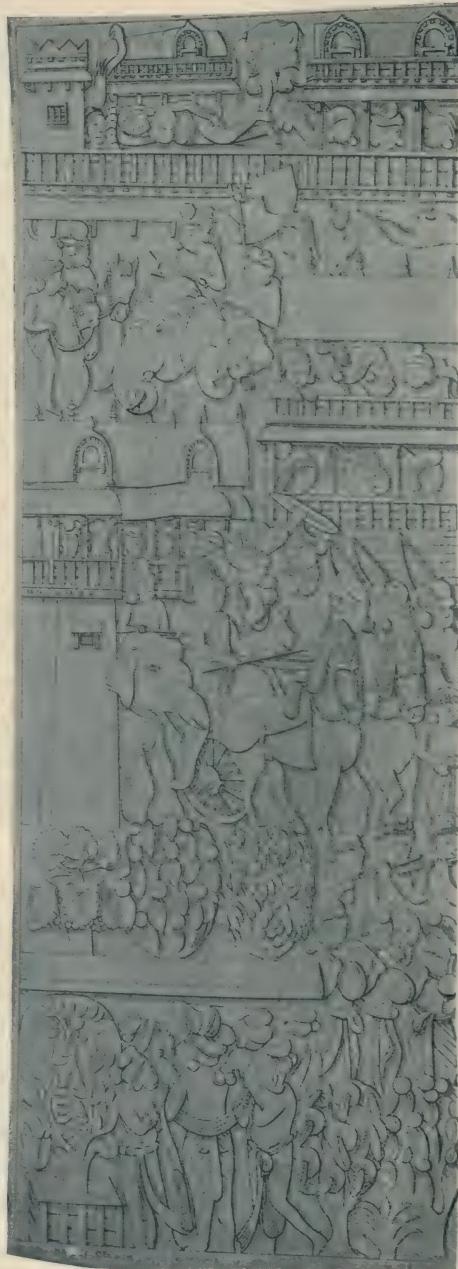
At this moment the earth shook, the heaven beamed with unusual brightness, celestial music sounded, flowers fell from the sky. As the child placed his foot upon the ground the lotus sprang up beneath it. He looked about, erect, upon all sides, with the look of a lion, with the glance of a mighty hero, conscious of no weakness. He made seven steps forward and cried out with clear voice, "Is there anyone equal to me in virtue, in contemplation, in knowledge? I am the highest, I am the best in all the world. This is my last birth. I will be the greatest of all physicians, the destroyer of sickness and of death."

¹ The narrative is in largest part taken from the *Lalita Vistara*.

² The engraving on the opposite page illustrates scenes in the story of the Buddha's birth and childhood. It is taken from the sculptures of Sanchi. At the top is what might be called the Annunciation or the Conception. Maya is lying on her side, and the white elephant appears above and before her. In the center the youthful Buddha is moving in a grand procession, surrounded by a brilliant company of courtiers, through the midst of the city.

A messenger hastened to the king, his father, with the happy message; and at the same time the news arrived of the birth of the future wife of Buddha, of his beloved disciple and cousin, Ananda, and of his favorite horse, Kantaka. After five days he was named, and the occasion was one of great festivity. On the seventh day his mother died. He was brought back to the palace, and his mother's sister, Gautami, became his foster mother. A great multitude of attendants, young men and young women, were gathered about him, and his court was stately and brilliant.

Far away from the court of the king, living in solitude, was a famous monk, a sage named Asita, gifted with supernatural insight into the affairs of heaven and earth. He perceived from the unusual commotion in the universe that the Buddha had been born. Mightily stirred, he hastened to the royal city and palace, was greeted



with reverence and beheld the child with joy. He expatiated upon his beauty, and upon the wonderful marks (thirty-two in all) by which his superiority could be recognized, particularly the sun wheel impressed upon the soles of his feet. He would be either the world's mightiest king, or the Buddha, saviour of the world. But, while taking the child in his arms, to the surprise of everyone, he suddenly burst into tears. Moved at this untimely grief, the father sought to know whether it betokened disaster to the child. "Far from it," said the sage. "Not on his account do I weep; rather do I grieve for myself, that so old am I that I shall not behold the day when he will announce his law for the salvation of the world. He will be the Buddha." Then Asita, laden with the gifts, signs of the royal gratitude, retired to his solitude.

The young prince was brought into the temple of the gods, but as he stepped upon the threshold, the images of the gods fell from their places at his feet. Loud cries of joy, celestial music, flowers, and shakings of solid earth accompanied his entrance into the temple, and all the universe of gods rejoiced. Ornamental clothing, of splendid and gorgeous character, uniforms, decorations in which he might take delight were then prepared for him, but hardly had they been put upon him when their splendor disappeared, and it was made known to the king and court that all this glitter and glory was nothing in comparison with the brilliance and majesty of the Buddha himself.

He was brought once to the school in splendid procession, surrounded by thousands of boys, and with all the paraphernalia of royalty. The schoolmaster sank to the ground before him, and the prince inquired of the schoolmaster, naming four and sixty languages, which of these he desired him to learn. Amazed by this knowledge the teacher declared that so wonderful a scholar, whose like the world had not known, had never before appeared in his school. As the children of the school then pronounced the alphabet, the young prince at each letter uttered a sentence which revealed a doctrine of salvation. For therefore had he come into the school.

Once, when the spring had come, when the flowers were

blooming and the birds singing, the prince went out into the field at the time of the plowing festival. Tired of sport, he separated himself from the throng and lay down under the shade of a tree, where he sank into deep meditation. Five sages passed that way, whose course from north to south had been thus far, owing to their supernatural knowledge, unhindered by any natural obstacle, when on a sudden they found themselves restrained. They must first pay their homage to the young prince, and then pass on their way. But the absence of the young prince was remarked. His father became anxious. They began to search for him and found him under the tree where he had retired. The sun was declining and the shadows were growing longer, yet to the astonishment of everyone, the shadow of the tree under which he lay remained as in the middle of the day, protecting him from the sun. The miracle was beheld by the court, as he sat there beneath the shade, his head begirt with a circle of light as with a thousand suns. As the father bowed in reverence to the earth before his son, he awoke, and with loving words returned to his home.

Such was the childhood of the young prince, growing up in the midst of the luxuries and temptations of a court, pure, majestic, gracious, destined before long to turn his back upon it all and go forth, a homeless pilgrim, to seek and find salvation for himself and the world.

MOHAMMED.¹

Mohammed, founder of Islam, was descended from the princely family of the chiefs of Mekka. His father was a youngest son, his mother Amina of the same kin. The father died in the first year of the marriage, before the birth of the child. Mohammed was born A. D. 570-571. About his birth marvelous stories have gathered. Heavenly visions were granted to the mother. Heavenly nourishment and encouragement were given to her. The child had hardly been born when in a clear voice he recited the creed. The "seal of prophecy" was written on his

¹ MUIR'S collection of tales from the Arab historians in his *Life of Mahomet*, Vol. I., is drawn upon.

back in letters of light. He seized at once a handful of earth and raised his head to heaven. Three persons brilliant as the sun appeared, one holding a silver goblet, one an emerald tray, one a silken towel; they washed him seven times, blessed and saluted him as the prince of mankind. Word was at once carried to the head of the family, who was sitting in the sacred enclosure of the Kaaba among his sons and the principal men of his tribe. With rejoicing he went to Amina, who told him all that had taken place. He took the young child in his arms and went to the Kaaba, and as he stood beside the holy house he gave thanks to God.

According to custom, the child was handed over to a Bedouin nurse, Thueiba, and later to another, Halima, who took him into the desert for two years. Though the fatherless condition of the child made him a less profitable and less desirable charge, yet his presence brought prosperity to the nurse and all the family. Her camel yielded abundance of milk. Her white donkey in its journey to Mekka could hardly move along the road for weakness, but on the way home with the child it outstripped all the others. It was a year of famine, yet the Lord so blessed Halima for the little Mohammed's sake that her cattle always returned fat and with plenty of milk.

After two years the child was returned weaned to its mother, but so pleased was she with his appearance that she sent him back for two years more, at which time a strange event occurred to him. At four years of age he was one morning playing with his (foster) brother and sister among the cattle close by the encampment, when there came two angels, who cut open his body and drew forth from thence the black drop and cast it from them, and washed him inside with snow from a golden platter. Then they weighed him against a thousand of his people, and he outweighed them all. And one of them said to the other, "Let him go, for verily if thou were to weigh him against the whole of his people, he would outweigh them all."

His brother, seeing this, ran screaming to his mother, who with her husband hastened to the spot, and found the lad pale and affrighted. The nurse hastened to return him to his mother and

to confess what had occurred, declaring that he had the epilepsy. "Didst thou fear," said Amina, "didst thou fear that a devil had possessed him?" She avowed that such could never be the case with a child whose birth had been preceded and followed by so many prodigies. The story finds its counterpart in an allusion in Sura 94 of the Quran, "Have we not opened thy breast?" It was the cleansing of the boy's heart from sin. The nurse brought him back again to the desert, keeping him with her a year longer.

But other marvelous things occurred, such as, for example, the presence of a cloud attending the child, sheltering him from the sun, moving as he moved, and stopping when he stopped. So she proceeded to return him again to his mother. As she reached the outskirts of Mekka the little child strayed away, and she could not find him. Search was made, and he was discovered and restored to his home.

At the close of his sixth year his mother visited Medina, making a pilgrimage to the house where her husband had died and was buried. The sojourn lasted hardly more than a month, and on the return, about halfway between the two cities, the mother fell sick and died, and was buried there. The orphan was carried upon the camels to Mekka by his nurse, who continued to be his constant attendant.

Muir has suggested that the early loss of his mother no doubt imparted to him something of that pensive and meditative character by which he was afterward distinguished. The Quran recounts among the mercies of the Almighty: "Did he not find thee an orphan, and furnish thee with a refuge?" The prophet is said in later years to have visited his mother's tomb and lamented, saying, "I called my mother to remembrance and the tender memory of her overcame me and I wept." And he was never seen to weep more bitterly than he did then.

The child now came under the care of his grandfather, who was a man of eighty years, and who treated him with great affection. He, too, died after two years, and the child followed the bier to the cemetery weeping. Mohammed was then con-

signed to the care of his uncle, Abu Talib. It is a striking testimony to the attractiveness of the boy's character that, upon all those who came into intimate relations with him, he impressed himself as of a lovable nature, and all of them treated him with peculiar gentleness and fondness. Abu Talib made him sleep by his bed, eat by his side, and go with him whenever he walked abroad. On the other hand, it is said that Mohammed contributed his share of blessing to the humble household. The family always rose from their frugal meal hungry and unsatisfied if he were not present, but when he dined with them they were not only satisfied, but had food to spare. The other children used to run about with foul eyes and disheveled hair, whereas his little head was always sleek and his eyes clean.

At twelve years of age he was taken by his uncle on a mercantile journey to Syria, which lasted for several months. The district through which they passed was of great impressiveness of natural scenery and historical associations. It brought the boy into contact with Christian civilization and religion, and had without doubt much influence upon his future life. It was upon this journey that other marvels are related about him. His caravan halted close to a monastery occupied by a monk called Bahira. The monk perceived by a cloud which hovered over the company, by the boughs bending to shelter him, and by other marvelous tokens that the party contained the prophet expected shortly to arise. He therefore invited them to an entertainment, but when they assembled he perceived that the object of his search was not among them. Upon his inquiring where the wanting guest was, they sent for the boy, who on account of his youth had been left to watch the encampment. Bahira questioned him, examined his body to discover the seal of prophecy, and found it plainly impressed upon his back. He then referred to his sacred books, found all the marks to correspond, and declared the boy to be the expected apostle. On his return, the boy settled down into a quiet, uneventful life until he came to man's estate.

CONFUCIUS.¹

Confucius, the sage of China, was born in the year 551 B. C. He was the son of his father's old age, and as the only son, upon whom the hopes of the worship of the ancestors rested, his advent was the source of intense rejoicing. His family, the family of Kung, was regarded as one of the most illustrious in the empire. An uninterrupted descent of nearly eighteen centuries from the time of the great emperor Shun has been traced. It is said that a member of the line was in the year 1765 B. C. placed upon the imperial throne of China, and became the founder of the dynasty of Shang, and only after 600 years was the dynasty replaced by another. The character of his mother is revealed in the story of her marriage. Shuh-leang Heih, a distinguished soldier and prefect of the empire, had reached beyond middle age when he was left a widower with nine children, all girls. Desiring a son, he determined to marry again, and addressed himself to the head of the noble house of Yen, who had three marriageable daughters. While the position of the suitor made the match desirable, his age was a decided objection, and the father determined to leave to the choice of his daughters the acceptance of the offer. The two elder sisters were silent, but the younger said immediately, "It is for you to determine," and declared that she was ready to become, should he wish it, the old man's bride. Soon after the marriage she made a pilgrimage to the sacred mountain in order that she might crave a blessing upon the union, and as she ascended the hill the leaves of the trees erected themselves, and on her return bent downward. The birth of the son was preceded by miracles and wonders. Shortly before it occurred, his mother was startled by the apparition of a strange monster bearing a gem in his mouth, upon which was engraved a prediction of the future greatness of the son she was about to bear. At the moment of his birth celestial strains were heard and fragrant odors were diffused. Two dragons were seen in the air, and

¹The authorities are LEGGE, *Life and Teachings of Confucius*; ALEXANDER, *Confucius the Great Teacher*.

some of the glorified spirits of antiquity resumed their mortal form and appeared to do homage to the new-born babe. Upon



ALTAR PIECE IN A CHINESE TEMPLE.

(Said to have been employed by some of the Roman Catholic missionaries to illustrate the doctrine of the Blessed Virgin.)

the body of the child appeared marks by which the diviners of the time prophesied his high destiny.

In his third year the father died, and the care of the boy was left to his mother, who, as has been observed, exhibited a strong and beautiful character. Anecdotes which have been told of his childhood disclose as the chief element of his character a gravity and religiousness which revealed themselves throughout his whole life. His chief delight seems to have been to carry through, in company with his playmates, the various ceremonial and ritualistic observances which enter into the inmost life of China. He seems to have been a brilliant student, under tutors whose names have been preserved, and to have revealed not merely high scholarship but also simplicity and sweetness of character, which made him dear to all his companions. At fourteen it is said he had exhausted all the subjects his master professed to teach, and yet he was not willing to rest, for he himself declared, "At the age of fifteen the acquisition of knowledge was the one object which engrossed all my thoughts." Yet his youth was not thus passed solely in the enjoyment of extended study. His mother had been left poor. His youth was spent in poverty, and it is said that there were times when he was compelled to resort to hunting and fishing in order that he might support her and earn his livelihood. For this reason, coupled perhaps with the fact that advancement in Chinese public life is open primarily to its educated young men, at the age of seventeen Confucius entered into the service of the state, henceforth to be a public character.

ZOROASTER.¹

The coming into the world of the prophet of ancient Persia was of divine purpose and his early life was the scene of God's providence and grace. The world was given over to magic and sorcery, detestable doctrines and practices of every abominable sort, under the control of evil powers. The child as yet unborn became the object of their attack. The mother dreamed that he was torn from her body by wild beasts but was rescued and restored by a youth descended from heaven clad in shining raiment, bearing a gleaming branch and the book from the just

¹ Most of this material is found in the *Dabistan*.

God, who said: "This honored child shall be the prophet of the righteous God."

On the day he was born his brain pulsated so vigorously as to repel the hand laid upon it—an omen of his future wisdom. At the moment of his birth the infant is said to have laughed aloud. Of both circumstances traditions in writers far separated in space and time have been preserved. One pious narrator moralizes over the meaning of this strange laughter. Other infants come into the sad and weary world with crying and wailing; how striking that this child, God's faithful servant, came into it with a laugh!

Not that his life was to be joyful! From the first the enemy was let loose upon him. The king of his country, a worshiper of Ahriman and a practitioner of magic, sought to destroy him. But as he drew his sword to slay the babe, his hand was withered. Magi seized the child and threw him on a vast burning pyre, but he slept peacefully through the fire and came forth unharmed. He was thrown under the feet of herds of cattle and wild horses, but in vain. He was cast into a den of ravening wolves whose cubs had first been slaughtered. But the wolves protected him and sheep came among them unharmed to suckle the child.

A Baalam-oracle was forced out of the mouths of his foes when a great magician declared, "He will conduct the creatures of God in the true way, promulgate the living word, destroy the demon and enchanters, and convert the king."

When Zoroaster had reached his seventh year they made fresh assaults upon him, attempting to frighten him by their enchantments. But though all fled, he remained calm and fearless. When once he fell sick, they brought him a poisoned cup, but to his clear eye the poison separated itself from the other ingredients of the draught and he refused to drink. His father seems once to have lost heart and assembled a council of magi at his house, but the youthful sage rebuked him and discomfited the council of wise enchanters, who fell sick and died.

At the age of fifteen he left his home and retired from the world, despising the pleasures of sense, living a life of renun-

ciation apart from men, until in his thirtieth year he came forth as the prophet of the true God.

LAO-TSE.¹

Few recollections of the childhood of this mystic sage of China have been preserved. His mother is said to have conceived him while gazing upon a falling star, and for eighty-one (seventy-two?) years he remained in the womb. At length he was born with the appearance of an old man with white hair. Hence he was called Lao-tse, *i. e.*, "Old Boy." From the first he knew and spoke. Lifting himself up and pointing with his hand to heaven and earth he cried, "In heaven above and on earth beneath *Tao*, *i. e.*, 'the way,' alone is worthy of honor." He appeared more than half a century before Confucius.

THE BUDDHA CHILD.²KRISHNA.³

In those days India was afflicted by the tyrannical rule of the Raja Kansa, in whom the Asura had revived. The world groaned under his yoke and that of his fellows and the cry of the earth went up unto the gods. They in their turn appealed to Vishnu, "who is the spirit of all, and of whom the universe consists," "who constantly, for the sake of earth, descends in a very small portion of his essence, to establish righteousness below." Vishnu plucked out two of his hairs, one white, one black, and declared, "These two hairs of mine, descending to the earth, shall remove her burden."

¹ See DOUGLAS, *Confucianism and Taoism*; LEGGE, *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol XXXIX.

² The child stands with one hand pointing to heaven, the other to earth, in token of universal empire.

³ The *Bhagavata Purana* is the chief source of the Krishna stories.

At that time the marriage of Devaki, the niece of Raja Kansa, with Vasudeva had been celebrated. In connection with it a direful prophecy had come to Kansa that the son of Devaki would be his destroyer. He spared the life of Devaki only on condition that each of her children should immediately after birth be handed over to him to be put to death. Six of these sons had thus perished. But now the white hair and the black from Vishnu descended to earth and lodged, the one, the white, in the body of Rohini, and the other, the black, in the body of Devaki, and in her was conceived the son of the black hair, Krishna. When Kansa learned that another son was to be born he bound husband and wife in fetters, fastened the doors of their house with bars, and ordered his warriors to keep guard about the dwelling.

The night came and the child was born. All the marks of Vishnu were seen upon him. Immediately the fetters fell from the arms of Vasudeva and Devaki, the doors flew open and the guards were fallen into a deep sleep. So Vasudeva escaped to the river Jumna with the babe. When he essayed to cross, the waters rose to his nostrils and he was afraid; but Krishna stretched forth his foot and the waters became shallow. When the rain began to fall, the serpent king raised his hoods to cover the child. Thus Krishna was brought to the hut of Nanda, the cowherd, by whom he was brought up.

As Vasudeva reentered the house the doors became locked, the fetters were restored, and the guards awoke. Then Kansa found that the child had disappeared and was filled with rage and ordered that all young children throughout that region should be sought out and that all male children of vigor should be put to death. Only by paying heavy tribute and fleeing to a distant place did the cowherds on the other side of Jumna escape. Even then Kansa was not appeased, but sent evil demons disguised in various forms to destroy Krishna. Putana, disguised as a beautiful woman, sought to suckle him to death, but he sucked her life away. As he slept beneath a cart, a demon tried to drive over him, but he kicked against it and broke it into pieces. Another in the form of a whirlwind flew off with him,

but the child brought him to the ground and dashed him against a stone. The great serpent, Kaliya, attacked him, but was beaten.



BIRTH OF KRISHNA.

(From a cheap colored print illustrating the art of the common people. At the rear of the picture may be a rude representation of the swing.)

The childhood of Krishna was characterized by mischievous episodes which reveal an entirely new side of ideal childhood as conceived in India. One or two narratives are sufficient to illustrate the whole period. One day Yasoda was angry with Krishna because he would eat dirt, and she took a stick to beat him; but when she came to him he opened his mouth and she looked in and saw the three worlds, and she marveled greatly.

Early one morning they arose to churn. The noise awakened Krishna and he cried for food, but in vain. Then he was angry and took the staff out of his mother's churn and began to kick and cry. His mother comforted him and gave him food, then set him down and went away. Whereupon Krishna broke the vessels of curds and buttermilk and began to eat the butter and give it to the other boys. His mother returned and was angry. In punishment she tied the child to the churn, but he ran away with it until it was caught between two trees. He tore down the trees, and when the people came up to see what he had done they found him between the trees laughing and sitting upon the churn.

So the child lived a wild life, "growing up," as the old story says, "as a high-souled boy in the tribe of cowherds." The story of the period "is related with minute details, and it is upon this portion of his life that the popular mind delights to dwell. The mischievous pranks of the child, the follies of the boy, and the amours of the youth are the subjects of boundless wonder and delight."¹

It is not necessary to remark that much in these narratives is purely legendary, the offspring of pious imagination, creating, where authentic tradition fails, the material which glorifies the sacred childhood of the founder of the faith. Nor need attention be called to the possibility which in some cases reaches certainty that elements in these stories have been borrowed from the narratives of our Lord's birth and childhood. Especially in the case of the Krishna stories, so careful an investigator as Hopkins regards much as beyond doubt borrowed from Christian sources. For the purpose of this article, however, these considerations are of little moment. Whether mythical, invented, or borrowed, they have entered into the life of peoples, and make up the ideal of childhood which to them is the highest and the holiest; as such, they cannot but be regarded as deserving of attention by those who are interested in the culture of men everywhere, and especially in their thoughts about the child, and their ideals of his perfectness.

¹ DOWSON, *Dictionary, etc., s. v. "Krishna."*

THE THEOLOGICAL TRAINING FOR THE TIMES.

By GEORGE B. FOSTER,
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THE subject does not imply that we, living in detachment from our age, can dictate its training. We are not spectators on the shore, but swimmers in the stream. *In* the times but also *above* them: from the former comes sympathy; from the latter strength. To be adapted to the age one must be ahead of it.

The subject may mean either the theological-seminary training for the times or the training in theology for the times. Looking at the former for a moment, what is the function of a divinity school? (1) To train men to be good ministers of Jesus Christ. To be a good minister he must be a *good man*; a man of virile personality, of self-unconscious simplicity and earnestness, a man in whom there is a conspicuous absence of insincerity and cant, and who combines tenderness and strength, humility and high-mindedness, a true altruism and a true self-regard. He must be characterized by mastery over the flesh, by inner unworldliness, and by spirituality of mind. A divinity school may fairly be expected to make some contribution to this end. (2) Again, a good minister is a messenger who *believes in his message*. Doubt is good. The soul that has never doubted does not know that it has believed. The great fearless ages of doubt have helped much. But doubt has no value in itself, its value is in what it leads to—in Greece to Socrates; in Rome to the preparation for the Christian faith; in the third great age of doubt to the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the Revolution in France; and in a fourth, men made the transition from the study of nature to the study of human nature, to the rediscovery of the inner life. What is true in this large way is true for the individual. Along this *via dolorosa* of doubt must he enter into the kingdom of truth. Often during the seminary course the young man makes

the transition from a traditional to a personal faith. He is divided between two feelings: perplexed on the one hand by a suspicion that in clinging to traditional orthodoxy he may be untrue to himself; and checked on the other side by a fear that in discarding it he may be casting aside ideas essential to his moral and spiritual life. At such a time a divinity school should indeed be an *Alma Mater* to him. And if its work be destructive in part, as in part today it must, it is destructive for the sake of construction, the constructiveness of Him who, though he destroyed, came not to destroy but to fulfil.

But as to the training in theology for the times, there are some things which ought to be said with the utmost freedom and frankness. When we speak of the times we often think of an age of steam, electricity, bicycles, and the like. But this is only the outer times, not the inner, the true, the deep times. The true times is the mightiest movement and tendency of human life, thought, feeling. What, then, is the fundamental characteristic of this age, of the whole modern period? *Emancipation*. It is at the bottom today of the labor movement, tariff question, disestablishment, disarmament of nations, secular education. Historically this spirit was uttering itself in the efforts of Bacon and Descartes to free natural science from the authority of the church, Hobbes the state, Grotius the law, the English deists religion. What is the problem of the present hour which paralyzes some with dread and exhilarates others with enthusiasm? The emancipation of religion from religion, morality from morality, theology from theology. The theological task today in all western Christendom is the completion of Luther's Reformation, the disengagement of our Protestantism from the remainders of Roman Catholicism, the complete rejection of the false principle of authority. Go back and see how the present state of things has come about. The divine revelation was accepted in the first instance in such a manner that the Christian faith formed a compromise with ancient culture. Conditioned by that circumstance the kingdom of God assumes a form in history accordingly, and presents itself as the Catholic church. There was an essential connection between the ancient

ideal of the state and the Catholic conception of the church. Also the influence of ancient heathenism can be observed in this church's institutions, especially in the idea of magical operation in the sacraments. But again it is a fact also that paganism passed into ecclesiastical dogma. So grew up the world not of inner, but of outer, necessity which shackled faith. Let no man say that this accommodation of Christianity to heathen civic and philosophic life was not of God because it has got to pass away, any more than you would make such a statement in reference to that not dissimilar period of historical development, Judaism. God was in the poor world of external necessity as he is now in the world of inner freedom, in the propædeutic as well as in the perfect. The Catholic development was under the guidance of the divine Spirit. *Only it was not guided in such a way that the precipitates of that development have a right to claim a definitive authority in consequence, whether those precipitates be the institutions of the church or its dogma.* The reformers thought that they would reject the institutions and retain dogma as authoritative. Both go together. The Catholic principle of infallibility must be eliminated from every region of protestant Christianity. Here as elsewhere man must accept the dangers and the responsibilities of freedom. So only can either he or his faith be its best. Not an infallible church tradition, not an infallible church office, not an infallible canon of Scripture, only religion has sovereign right in the kingdom of religion. Today faith seeks freedom from these false principles of authority and wishes to be permitted to say in lieu thereof three words: *Christ my Lord!* Only upon the reduction of our masters to just this may we fairly hope for the unification of Christendom and an omnipotent impulse to the missionary enterprise.

Who, then, was Christ? Only Christ can tell us. Historico-critical investigation has for its task ultimately the construction of biblical theology, which will be a help to speculative theology in its statement of the norm for faith and for conduct.

ZACHARIAS: A STUDY OF MATTHEW 23:35.

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The four possible persons to whom the reference is made: the son of Jehoiada; the son of Barachiah; the son of Baruch; the father of John the Baptist.

IN the New Testament, with the exception of the opening chapter of Luke, the name of Zacharias occurs only in one passage, Matt. 23:35, which is repeated again in Luke 11:51. The personality of the Zacharias of Luke 1 is pretty well defined, but considerable difficulty arises when we seek to determine who the Zacharias is to whom our Saviour refers in his words of threatening and warning addressed to the Pharisees. There are evidently four possible answers, or, at least, there are four different persons among the Jews of earlier or later times to whom some writers with more or less plausibility have supposed the passage to refer. These in their historical order are: Zacharias the son of Jehoiada, Zacharias the son of Barachiah, the post-exilian prophet, Zacharias the father of John the Baptist, and Zacharias the son of Baruch, slain by the Zealots in Jerusalem, in A. D. 67.

It may be interesting and instructive to glance at the claims that have been put forward for each of these in the interpretation of Matt. 23:35.

I. The interpretation of this passage which has been most popular, and which still is the prevalent one, is that which identifies the Zacharias of Matthew with the son of Jehoiada. The story as given in 2 Chron. 24:20-22 is well known. In consequence of his faithful denunciation of prevailing ungodliness, he was stoned in the court of the house of the Lord, Joash forgetting Jehoiada's kindness, the martyr with his dying breath invoking God's righteous retribution: "The Lord look upon it

and requite it." This incident evidently made a deep impression upon the Jews. The assassination of Joash, recorded in the 25th verse, is emphatically described as done on purpose to avenge this cruel murder. And in later ages legends arose and gained currency which showed how the iniquity and baseness of the deed had keenly touched the moral and religious consciousness of the people. In several tracts of the Talmud¹ we find the tradition that it was on the great day of Atonement, on which this crime was perpetrated and that the blood stains could never be washed out. It is also told that when Nebuzaradan entered the temple on the day when it was taken, blood, which by experiment he found not to be that of the sacrificial victims, calves, rams or lambs, bubbled upon the pavement, and, hearing that it was the blood of a prophet who had been slain for foretelling his victory, he caused thousands to be slain there, till at last the bubbling ceased, and Zacharias was avenged. This incident must have occurred sometime before B.C. 800. The remoteness of the date is the first difficulty that presents itself, if we assume that it is to this Zacharias that Jesus refers in the words recorded by Matthew. The common explanation is that our Lord selected the first and the best recorded instances of suffering for righteousness' sake as given in the Old Testament according to the Jewish arrangement of the canon which assigned to Chronicles the last place. No doubt such an explanation is just possible,² but surely it bears upon it a most suspiciously artificial appearance. Another difficulty in the way of this interpretation lies in the designation of Zacharias by Matthew as "son of Barachias." Various expedients have been tried in order to get over this perplexing statement. Clearly the Old Testament story gives Jehoiada as father of Zacharias, but some would assume that Barachias may have been a son of Jehoiada, who, dying young, left his son to be brought up by the grandfather; others, that Barachias was another name of Jehoiada; and others, more radical critics, that the words, "son of Barachias," are a gloss that has

¹Taanith 69:1, 2; Sanhedrin 96:2. Also Targum on Sam. 2:20.

²It is accepted by Stanley, also by Köhler in Herzog; but Keim (v. 218), after mentioning it, says scornfully: "Can men read?"

crept into the text, or an error of the evangelist or of an early copyist. Of course, it is quite possible to conceive any one of these suppositions to be correct, but they all stand on the same footing, that of pure suppositions without the slightest shadow of support for any sort of proof. Yet another difficulty occurs in the phrase, "whom *ye* slew." Undoubtedly the natural interpretation of the words would refer the incident to the times of those addressed by the speaker, and would understand the allusion to be to some contemporary occurrence, something that had happened in the memory of that generation. It is little wonder that Keim exclaims impatiently, "Can men read? Matt. 23: 35, '*ye, ye* have slain.'"

Such an accumulation of difficulties must render the usual interpretation more than doubtful, and possible only as a last resource, when no other explanation presents itself less in need of the invention of ingenious guesses and hypotheses. While heartily recognizing the historical character of the story told in Chronicles, Ewald says unhesitatingly (*Hist.* iv, 141, note 1): "It is a mistake to suppose that this Zacharias, son of Jehoiada, is the one referred to in Matthew 23: 35."

II. The claims of the prophet Zechariah have been advocated by comparatively few, and by these mainly on account of the designation "son of Berechiah," which is common to Zech. 1: 1; Matt. 23: 35. We hear of this view, as one that has been held by some, from Chrysostom and Jerome. It may be observed in passing that there are other two earlier prophets of this name mentioned in the Old Testament, one belonging to the days of Uzziah (2 Chron. 26: 5), supposed by Hitzig to be the author of Zech. 9-11, and another belonging to the days of Ahaz (Isa. 8: 2), to whom Hitzig assigns Zech. 12-14, and others, with greater plausibility, chaps. 9-11. The father of the last mentioned Zechariah is called Jeberechiah. There is really no trace anywhere, either in canonical or in apocryphal literature, of any of those prophets suffering a violent death. All the circumstances of their times speak against the likelihood of any such occurrence. But for the appearance of the name Berechiah as that of the father of the prophet, as seeming to harmonize with the designa-

tion of Zacharias in Matthew, this theory would never have been suggested. It is extremely doubtful whether the words "son of Barachias" really belong to the gospel text. They are omitted in Luke, and in the gospel of the Hebrews in this place we have "the son of Jehoiada." If this phrase be withdrawn the only vestige of plausibility is taken away from this attempted identification.

III. It has been proposed by some to identify the Zacharias of Matthew with Zacharias, the son of Baruch, slain by the Zealots. The story is told by Josephus (, IV, 5, 4). In A. D. 67 the small party of Zealots in Jerusalem had shut themselves up for security in the temple. Having contrived to get a message sent to the Idumæans and to have them admitted to the city, the Zealots and Idumœans together set up a reign of terror in the city, slaying all the respectable and peaceable among the inhabitants. Zacharias, a worthy man and of spotless character, though acquitted by a council which they had set up for the purpose of carrying out the form of a trial, was cut down by two of the party, who exclaimed as they did so: "Here hast thou also our voices." In regard to this, Schürer says: "Some have sought wrongly to identify this Zacharias with the one mentioned in Matt. 23:35, and Luke 11:51" (*Hist. of Jewish People*, I, ii, 229, note). The only modern critic of eminence who seriously entertains this view is Keim (*Jesus of Nazara*, v. 216 ff.). And he uses this assumption as an argument in favor of the spuriousness of the whole passage. He puts aside the idea that Jesus could possibly here refer to the murder which had occurred some 800 years before, as though it were the latest instance of the murder of a righteous man, or as though the Scribes and Pharisees of his own generation could be held personally responsible for it. On the other hand, he maintains that everything becomes clear when we understand the reference to be to Zacharias, the son of Baruch, whose death by the Zealots was the direct fruit of Pharisaism. This brings down the composition of the gospel to the days of the fall of Jerusalem; that Jesus should predict the incident is absurd; but the comparatively late writers sought to cover up the anachronism by

substituting Barachias for Baruch. How it could have happened that a writer sufficiently near the date of the Zealot story to know all its details, and so keenly alive to the awkwardness of putting so late a name into the mouth of Jesus that he actually felt compelled to give it an antique coloring, should yet choose to make use of this incident in preference to unobjectionable instances that must have been ready to his hand is not in the very least made clear.

IV. We turn now to the best of the proposals made in the interpretation of this passage. It has been suggested that the Zacharias of Matthew is Zacharias, the father of John the Baptist. Clearly one great advantage that the supporters of this view have lies in this, that the age of this Zacharias fits exactly the requirements of the reference by our Lord. If so be that the father of John the Baptist was put to death in this way, then most naturally, without any artificial device as in the case of the son of Jehoiada, it would be charged against our Lord's own generation, so that addressing them he could say, "him have *ye* slain." We need not trouble ourselves about the words, "son of Barachias." The only real difficulty lies in the question as to whether there is any reason to suppose that the forerunner's father died a death such as is here described. Keim would dismiss the matter summarily by saying that such an account of his death is apocryphal fable. This is easily said; but it should be remembered that Origen and Basil regarded the tradition as no fable, but as solid and trustworthy. The story as told by Origen is extremely interesting. In his Commentary on Matthew (ed. de la Rue III, p. 845) he points to the *ἔφονεύσατε*, "ye have slain," as reason for seeking out some contemporary event. He tells of a tradition which he had heard, how that Zacharias, acting as high priest, allowed Mary, after the birth of Jesus, to enter that part of the temple reserved for virgins on the plea that she was still a virgin, and for this offense against the law the men "of that generation" put him to death between the temple and the altar. While Origen seems only to have had an oral tradition, Epiphanius of Salamis knew of a book called *Tērra Mapias*, current in Egypt among the Ophites, which

told of Zacharias' death, but declared that it was inflicted by the Jews because he had discovered their secret worship. The story of Zacharias' death occurs in *Protevangelium Jacobi*, one of the oldest of the New Testament apocrypha, already known to Justin Martyr, where the author of the deed is Herod, and the occasion Zacharias' declaration that he knew not where John was, when Herod, disappointed in his attempt to get possession of the infant Jesus, demanded of Zacharias that he should give up his son. The same story practically in this last form is given in a Slavonic MS. which had been evidently translated from an unknown Greek original, published lately in a German translation.¹ In addition we have here the legend of the blood becoming petrified and remaining as a witness against Herod. Other similar traditions might be quoted from other apocryphal works. But this should be noted, that while the details vary in consequence of the accretions of legendary matter, they all describe the death in what must be regarded as practically the same way. The accounts given of the immediate occasion and attendant circumstances of his death may be apocryphal fiction, but that he was put to death by violence within the precincts of the temple seems to be a valid, well-attested fact out of which and around which all the rest grew.

If then it be so that we can accept the story of Zacharias' death as historical, the interpretation of the passage in Matthew is plain. We shall not require to reject it as spurious, with Keim, nor shall we need to have recourse to more than doubtful expedients, as has commonly been the case, in order to show how Zacharias may be regarded as last in the series begun by Abel, or how the death of the son of Jehoiada, any more than that of the son of Adam, can fairly be charged as personal guilt against the men of Jesus' own generation.

¹ BERENDTS, *Studien über Zacharias-Apokryphen und Zacharias-Legenden*, Leipzig, 1895.

THE 53D CHAPTER OF ISAIAH.

52:13-53:12.

Arranged according to its strophic structure.¹

I.

Behold, my servant shall deal wisely,
He shall be exalted and lifted up, and shall be very high.
Like as many were astonished at thee
(His visage was so marred more than any man,
And his form more than the sons of men),
So shall he startle many nations ;
Kings shall shut their mouths at him ;
For that which had not been told them shall they see ;
And that which they had not heard shall they understand.

II.

Who hath believed our report ?
And to whom hath the arm of the LORD been revealed ?
For he grew up before him as a sucker,
And as a root out of the dry ground :
He hath no form nor comeliness ;
And when we see him there is no beauty that we should desire him.
He was despised and rejected of men ;
A man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief :
And as one from whom men hide their face
He was despised, and we esteemed him not.

III.

Surely he hath borne our griefs,
And carried our sorrows :
Yet we did esteem him stricken,
Smitten of God, and afflicted.
But he was wounded for our transgressions.
He was bruised for our iniquities :
The chastisement of our peace was upon him ;

¹ Each of the strophes will be found to be longer than the preceding one.

And with his stripes we are healed.
All we like sheep have gone astray ;
We have turned every one to his own way ;
And the LORD hath laid on him the iniquity of us all.

IV.

He was oppressed, yet he humbled himself and opened not his mouth ;
As a lamb that is led to the slaughter,
And as a sheep that before her shearers is dumb ;
Yea, he opened not his mouth.
By oppression and judgment he was taken away ;
And as for his generation, who *among them* considered
That he was cut off out of the land of the living ?
For the transgression of my people was he stricken.
And they made his grave with the wicked,
And with the rich in his death ;
Although he had done no violence,
Neither was any deceit in his mouth.

V.

Yet it pleased the LORD to bruise him ; he hath put him to grief ;
When thou shalt make his soul an offering for sin,
He shall see *his* seed, he shall prolong his days,
And the pleasure of the LORD shall prosper in his hand.
He shall see of the travail of his soul, *and* shall be satisfied :
By his knowledge shall my righteous servant justify many :
And he shall bear their iniquities.
Therefore will I divide him a portion with the great,
And he shall divide the spoil with the strong ;
Because he poured out his soul unto death,
And was numbered with the transgressors :
Yet he bare the sin of many,
And made intercession for the transgressors.

Aids to Bible Readers.

THE FORESHADOWINGS OF THE CHRIST. III.

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The Disruption and its effects.—In politics.—In religion.—Northern Israel the center of life.—Periods in its history.—Problems of religion there.—Elijah and Baalism.—The Damascus wars.—Elisha the sustainer.—Jeroboam II.—Elements of the age of decline.—Social disorganization.—Assyrian aggression.—The new Jehovahism.—In the prophets of this age.—Jehovah supreme, and supremely righteous.—Jehovah the merciful.—Secondary position of institutions.—Summary: The conceptions—(1) are spiritualized and (2) individualized;—(3) grow out of experience;—(4) culminate in Jehovah, in whom alone is hope.

IV. FORESHADOWINGS FROM THE TIMES OF THE EARLIER PROPHETS.

I. *The historical background from the Disruption to the overthrow of Israel, B. C. 937–722.*—The glorious period of David and Solomon was all too brief, and the dream which they cherished was realized in a very different manner from that which they would have desired. The kingdom which they expected to see established upon the plateaus of Palestine became a glorious ideal inspired by religion and painted by prophets in glowing colors. The breaking up of the temporary unity followed immediately on the death of Solomon (B. C. 937), when the flower of the nation, the tribes of the north, cast off the sway of the Judean weakling and would-be tyrant Rehoboam, and continued the true succession of the kingdom of Israel under the leadership of their rightfully elected king, Jeroboam, inspired thereto by prophets and conscious of the rectitude of their cause.

1. *Results of the Disruption.*—The consequences, however, were fateful, both for good and evil. Disunion took the place of harmonious action of all the tribes, and that at a time when, in the face of the Aramæans of Damascus and the mightier enemies that lay behind to the east, united effort alone could be successful in maintaining the national glory. All the advantages of community in softening and

modifying local peculiarities and in removing local weaknesses were brought to nought, and the beneficent influence of a united religious life was forever destroyed. Each kingdom now went its own way, working out the heritage of the past as local and temporal interests suggested.

On the other hand, it must be remembered that, with the new life manifesting itself in the oriental nations in the far East, especially in Assyria, there was slight hope that even a united Israel could long make headway against such overwhelming odds, and that thus there would be greater likelihood of one or the other of the smaller kingdoms surviving the shock of Assyrian conquest,—which indeed proved to be the case. All the advantage, also, that came from the competition of two peoples living side by side with parallel interests, all the variety that local impulses gave to the development of a common stock of social and religious traditions, found opportunity through the disruption to realize themselves.

Particularly in religion is this fact important. A united Israel with strong central authority, with the political aims that David and Solomon cherished, would have afforded nothing like the free field for the unique outworking of the ideals of the religion of Jehovah which was actually secured through the disruption. Prophetism, for example, demanded freedom to speak out the truth learned from personal communion with Jehovah, and free speech was not consonant with a Solomonic régime. One of the prime causes of the disruption was the out-breaking of the free spirit in northern Israel, where the nomadic tendencies toward independence had been less overpowered by the centralization of the court; and it is precisely in northern Israel that now the religion of Jehovah takes fresh root and plays its glorious part during this new period of a century and a half. It is not a matter of chance, then, nor one difficult of explanation, that the time of the early prophets is a period in which the interest centers about the kingdom of Israel.

The history of the northern kingdom falls naturally into four periods:

(1) Establishment and organization (B. C. 937–889); (2) the dynasty of Omri (B. C. 889–842); (3) the dynasty of Jehu (B. C. 842–740); (4) decline and fall (B. C. 740–722).

Religion received its character in the first period; its strength and weakness are derived from the political and social elements which marked the formation of the kingdom; it was in a sense a retrogres-

sion, since it returned in some measure to that local and independent character which was shown in the formative period of the nation's history, and out of which David and Solomon had sought to lift the people by the centralization of worship at Jerusalem. Religion never stood so steadily behind the monarchy, and never became so imposing a fact in the life of the nation in the north as in the south. Along with that independence, there also came back the tendencies to the old agricultural symbolism of worship, the images, from which it seems the Judean worship had largely freed itself. The religious question, indeed, was a much more complicated one in northern Israel, where the country was so much larger and the variety of population and interests so much greater in comparison with the limited and united territory and people of Judah, where religious centralization was easily accomplished. But, on the other hand, problems of tremendous import were set and solved in the north of which the south never dreamed. The north was the battle ground where was fought out the struggle which resulted in the victory of the prophetic conception of Jehovah, the best results of which were reaped in the south. Had it not been for the religious life of the northern kingdom, with its checkered career and its striking vicissitudes, we would have had no Isaiah and no Jeremiah.

2. *The work of Elijah and Elisha.*—The first religious crisis in the northern kingdom connects itself with the second period, the epoch of the vigorous dynasty of Omri. With this king the monarchy settled itself firmly in its seat. A new capital was established at Samaria. Moab was reconquered and a dynasty was founded which lasted for three generations. It is significant that in the Assyrian inscriptions Israel is called "the land of Omri." The Phoenician alliance was established in imitation of the brilliant foreign policy of David and Solomon, and the son of Omri, Ahab, received Jezebel, the daughter of the king of Tyre, as a wife. Another element in the foreign policy was the reconciliation with Judah which Ahab accomplished, his daughter being given in marriage to the son of Jehoshaphat.

Foreign alliances meant the recognition of foreign religions; thus Phoenician Baalism appeared in Israel, fostered by the royal court. It is unlikely that Ahab had any notion of supplanting by a new religion the worship of Jehovah, consecrated by ancestral tradition and national history. But the cult of Jehovah in northern Israel, as has already been noticed, was more closely associated with the local and agricultural nature worships, and also had not yet rooted itself as an organ-

ized ritualism after the manner of the Jerusalem temple worship in Judah. It was now brought into competition with the highly organized Baal worship of Phœnicia, itself the sublimation of Canaanite nature worship, backed by the patronage of the queen. What wonder, then, that the imposing ceremonial and seductive ritual tremendously overbore the national cult? It was Jehovah or Baal, with the odds immensely in favor of the latter, and the victory was almost gained for the Phoenician god. But the very freedom of the field in Israel gave an opportunity for the assertion of individual faith and the clearer proclamation of higher truth respecting Jehovah. And there was a man for the occasion, filled with the prophetic spirit—Elijah. His work consisted essentially in two things, (1) the uncompromising assertion that there could be no union between Jehovah and Baal, Jehovah's exaltation above the natural world, the insistence on his righteous judgment, as illustrated in the prophet's condemnation in Jehovah's name of the unholy murder of Naboth; (2) the vindication of Jehovah's absolute supremacy, though king and people lean to the other side. This is the first religious schism for Israel, the first jar given to that splendid faith in the oneness of Jehovah and his people. "Stand for or against Him," was Elijah's war cry. "However you stand, He remains supreme," was his revolutionary corollary which was to introduce a higher stage of Israel's religion. No wonder he has become the type of the Messiah's forerunner! In freedom-loving Israel alone could such a divine inspiration have been proclaimed.

The years that followed Elijah were years of disaster for Israel. The perennial feud between Damascus and Israel with its varying success inclining, however, chiefly to the side of the former, brought a strain upon the people which was almost unbearable. Right in the midst of it came the sudden change of dynasty which placed Jehu on the throne (B. C. 842). It is clear that the religious revolution which Elijah set in motion had its part in this political upheaval, and succeeded thereby in removing forever the danger of the supremacy of Phoenician Baalism. But there was always present the almost equally difficult problem of establishing and purifying the Jehovah worship, now in the ascendant; this must be done in the face of the desolating and devastating wars into which the kingdom was now plunged. There was, however, a man for the time in the person of the disciple of Elijah—Elisha. Some of the most curious narratives of the Old Testament gather about his name. He stands more or less in the shadow of his mighty predecessor. His work was prepared for him by

his relation to Elijah and the circumstances of his time. His duty was loyally to finish Elijah's work and to carry out his policy and purpose. Hardly had Jehu been firmly seated when the Syrian wars broke out, which lasted for thirty years (*ca.* 835–803 B. C.) and brought the nation low. It was this prophet's task to maintain the spirit and courage of the nation from king to peasant, to carry Israel through these weary years. His methods were partly political. He was court adviser. He was in touch with the people as well, and made them feel that Jehovah was with them. He thought it the time not to denounce, but to encourage; not to break down, but to build up. At the time of his death the battle was almost won. Syria never afterward proved a dangerous foe.

3. *From Jeroboam II to the end.*—The splendid reign of Jeroboam II (B. C. 781–740) was Elisha's justification. He had, indeed, no special crisis in religion to meet such as presented itself to Elijah. He has left us no definite body of teaching, no new light on Jehovah's character and purposes. His work was largely for the time, and events over which he had no control made his endeavor futile within twenty-five years after his death. The nation rapidly degenerated. Assyria left no time to Israel for reform or repentance after the great Damascus war had ceased. Elijah's prophetic followers, the school of optimists which he may have founded, could not take heart in view of the threatening situation, and they, too, may have become corrupt. A new application of the revolutionary thought of Elijah was now needful on a larger scale, in the face of Assyria's overpowering might. There were those who were ready to make this application, which opened a new epoch of Israel's religious history and introduced the earlier written prophecies.

4. *Israel's situation in these years.*—The elements of the age which saw the decline and disappearance of the kingdom of Israel and which conditioned the work of the new prophets may be summed up as follows:

(1) Social disorganization, the practical outcome of the wars with Damascus. These wars, carried on as they were by periodical inroads into Israelitish territory, involving the destruction of the crops and the wasting of the country, brought ruin to the agricultural class, the bulwark of the national life. They emphasized also the military element in the nation and conditioned the qualities of the occupant of the throne. He must be a general. He must surround himself with soldiers. The ruling classes in the nation became, therefore, brutal-

ized. The court and the capital measured the strength of the nation. The common people were ever more heavily taxed with the burdens of the wars. Whatever profit came from them was reaped by the nobles and the king. Inadequate periods of rest were given for the recovery of the nation. Hence the brilliant reign of Jeroboam II, which coincided with a period of peace when Damascus had been crushed by Assyria, and Assyria herself had gone into temporary eclipse, was really a mockery of prosperity, ready to collapse at the first real pressure brought to bear upon it.

(2) Assyria was the power which was to bring this pressure to bear, the great monarchy of this age, whose steady advance into the west from the time of Ashurnatsirpal (B. C. 884–860) foreboded the subjugation of all Syria, should it be unable to present a united front to the assailant. For a while union was secured. Shalmaneser II (B. C. 860–824) after his long and tremendous series of contests with the Syrian states, succeeded, indeed, in carrying away the empty honors of victory, but at the expense of almost exhausting Assyria. Rammannirari III (B. C. 811–782) renewed the aggressive policy just in time to deliver Israel from the last crushing blow of Damascus and carried his arms to the border of Egypt, only to have the empire again fall into disorder after his death. This latter period of Assyrian quiescence coincides with Jeroboam II's splendid reign. But no thoughtful man of the times could fail to realize that the Assyrian was only lying in wait, and that his armies must inevitably turn the scale in his favor at last. And the Assyrian was not in the field from motives of benevolence or from desires to impose a just and equitable authority over western Asia,—his was a military policy with military measures, and with the design of glorifying and enriching Assyria. However magnificent the ultimate result of Assyrian conquest proved to be in carrying the political progress of the world another stage forward, the immediate outcome to these Syrian states was devastation, disaster, and impoverishment. And this danger continually hung over Israel during these later years, if indeed the court was not already entangled in tributary relations with the great empire on the Tigris. There is good reason to believe that the dynasty of Jehu had from the first sworn allegiance to Assyria. If so, another heavy burden of tribute and shame must be borne by the people.

(3) The religion of Jehovah had won during this century a notable victory. Elijah had succeeded in awakening the nation to the danger of Baalism, and had helped to put on the throne a king devoted to

Jehovah. And this faith in Jehovah as the nation's God had been the one saving, sustaining, element during the weary years of the Damascus struggle. But it was not the faith of the centuries that had gone before, in the Jehovah who had led the nation through the Red Sea, whom the people had accepted as their God and Saviour, and whose devotion to his people's interest had revealed itself in innumerable crises, and who had glorified himself in the kingdom of David and Solomon. Where was he now to be found, and what was he doing? Elijah had averted the possibility of a new God supplanting the old, but his doctrine of Jehovah was revolutionary. The social and political calamities of the years that followed, the new and threatening complications in society and politics were still more shattering to the old Jehovah faith. What wonder that religion degenerated into despair on the one hand, and on the other into a brilliantly organized but hollow court ritual, or into gross superstition.

II. *The earlier prophets of the eighth century.*—Four prophetic books are assigned to this period of Israel's history, and have to do, directly or indirectly, with this age. Amos and Hosea were prophets whose messages were addressed to the people of the northern kingdom, Amos, the earlier, in the reign of Jeroboam II, Hosea having a longer prophetic ministry reaching beyond the time of Jeroboam II into the last days of the kingdom of Israel. Jonah, an episode in whose life forms the subject of his book, was a prophet of northern Israel belonging to the same age (*cf.* 2 Kings 14:25). The book of Joel gives no indication of its time. Both with regard to it and the book of Jonah there have been the most varying judgments respecting date. If the book of Joel belongs to this period, it is probably most satisfactorily placed in the early part of the reign of Joash of Judah (B. C. 836–796), and has its background in the Judean kingdom of this epoch. There are, therefore, reasons for considering all of these books in the light of the historical events of the ninth and eighth centuries, and for regarding their utterances as springing out of the life of this period and illustrative of it.

In general, no reader of these books can fail to observe that they all disclose one common characteristic. There is in them an element of turbulence. The events which they reflect are unhappy, grievous. The spirit which breathes through them is discordant, fateful, gloomy. There are mutterings of vengeance, cries of punishment, threatenings of calamity, forecasts of disaster, visions of conflict. Sin and righteousness, truth and error, the oppressed and the oppressor, Jehovah

and Baal, are arrayed against each other in conflict. In these respects the situation reflects quite definitely the dark outlooks of the Damascus wars and the latter days of the Israelitish kingdom.

In analyzing the elements of these prophetic oracles which look forward to brighter and better days, one may note the following points:

1. The supreme place occupied by Jehovah in the prophet's outlook for the present and future. In the contrasts and contradictions, in the disappointments and disillusionments of this period experienced by the prophet, one thing has remained immovable, unshaken, and that is his assurance of the supremacy of Jehovah. The nation has disappointed him. Its ideal destiny has not been achieved. His hopes respecting the monarchy have suffered a severe shock, for the king has not been such a benefactor as was expected. But Jehovah abides faithful. Only, as we have seen, the conception of him has broadened and deepened since the time of Elijah. These prophets, therefore, center their hopes directly upon him, and not mediately, through some institution or person who is to represent his character and purposes. His absoluteness is clearly declared, and this supreme position displays all the more prominently his essential characteristics. His unbiased and immovable righteousness receives the strongest kind of expression, particularly in view of the startling doctrine now clearly declared that, in the interests of his righteousness, Jehovah rules all people with equal justice, and in accordance therewith will inflict the penalty for sin upon Israel and Judah, the people of his choice. As the result of the long struggle against the Baal worship of Tyre and the nature worship which still clung to the ancestral ritual of the whole Jehovah worship, the ethical and spiritual demand of the prophetic conception of Jehovah is now for the first time positively and prominently proclaimed.

2. But these prophets who hold this doctrine of Jehovah's worldwide supremacy in righteousness are by no means indifferent to the interests of the people of Jehovah to whom they belong. They are, first of all, patriots, in whom love for country and for God, their country's God, is supreme. Indeed, it was just the contradiction between the misfortunes of their country and the faithfulness of Jehovah to its interests as manifested in its early history which forced them to seek an explanation and to find it in their emphasis (*a*) upon that larger life of Jehovah which lifts him above devotion to a single people, and (*b*) upon that righteous characteristic of his which constrains him to be just, even when the punishment must fall upon his own.

It led them to a deeper thought. They must picture to themselves a further reality, to which the very justice of Jehovah must bring him. This contradiction is finally and fully to be removed by the fulfilment of the earlier promises to his people. But this can be brought about only by Jehovah himself restoring his people, forgiving their sins, saving them from their calamities ; hence still another light is thrown by these prophets upon the character of Jehovah, Israel's God. He is God, the Redeemer, the Saviour, in a deeper and more strenuous way than was ever realized before. This is especially the view of Hosea, whose bitter experience prepares him for this deeper insight into Jehovah's character. As he forgave, restored, and enriched the one who had been unfaithful to him, no less merciful and forgiving will Jehovah be to sinning Israel.

The prophetic teaching of the book of Jonah is yet more widely gracious. Jehovah, who is God, not merely of Israel, but of the whole earth, righteous toward all, is likewise merciful toward *all* who repent and turn to him. His love is manifested even toward Nineveh, the great city of Assyria, the fierce, conquering destroyer of the nations.

A further and perhaps higher expression of these thoughts is given by Joel in the divine oracle of the outpouring of Jehovah's spirit upon all flesh (Joel 2:28, 29). The form of the utterance is suggested by the promised welcome rain which sinks into the parched earth and revives the drooping verdure. So Jehovah's vigorous, energizing spirit will permeate the weary and waste masses of men and inspire them to prophetic visions and tasks. The surest evidence of Jehovah's nearness and activity in those days was the ecstatic experience, when one's own self was possessed by the mightier divine afflatus. Nothing higher was conceivable. This experience was to be confined no longer to a few ; all were to enjoy it, even slaves. It is not certain whether the prophet's outlook reached beyond his own people, though "all flesh" would suggest the broader view. Within these limits the prophetic gift would be universal. All would hold immediate communication with Jehovah.

3. Though of far less importance, the objective institutions and the external elements of Israel's life enter into the prophetic pictures of this age. (a) No one can fail to remark how insignificant a position the monarchy takes in the interpretations and anticipations of this period, as compared with those of the period which just precedes. There the monarchy was the representative of Jehovah and his gracious ministrations to the nation. Here it has failed in its task. Jeho-

vah has found it unequal to his purposes and himself stands forth as the central figure. This shows, perhaps, a reaction caused by disappointment, yet the old faith was living. In these prophets there are still some anticipations that the monarchy will have its part to perform in the brighter days. The vision of Amos (9:11-15) beholds the utter collapse even of the Davidic line, not to speak of the monarchy of Israel, but looks beyond and hopes for its recovery and restoration. Hosea beholds the people returning unto Jehovah and "unto David, their king" (3:5). (b) The nation itself shall suffer in the severity of the discipline to which it is subjected. Both Hosea and Amos suggest that only a portion shall come forth to enter into the gladness of the latter day. It is striking that their new doctrine of Jehovah has opened the way for a new doctrine of his people, which, however, they grasp merely in suggestion, without developing its implications. It is the nation, Israël, that will be pardoned, yet only the nucleus of that nation. (c) In this ideal state, when the house of David shall be restored to rule over a forgiven people, the old land will be reoccupied, and will bloom and blossom as never before. Jehovah's people will dwell in it forever, and the nations round about shall be in subjection unto them (Amos 9:12-15; Joel 3:18-20; Hosea 2:21-23; 14:5-8).

In summing up the conclusions respecting the teaching of this period it is possible for the student to make a somewhat fuller comparison with the earlier material.

1. Observe the *spiritualizing* of the conceptions. They deal with the interior more than the exterior. In the Davidic period, for example, an institution is exalted,—the monarchy. The nation and its God receive their significance from relation to it. Jehovah is the king in the sense of victorious Leader, mighty Lawgiver, exercising judgment in the earth, through the king, his anointed. The nation is to enjoy the blessings of prosperity and victory under the protection of the monarchy and through its successful achievements. But now the blessings and the giver of them are higher and more inward. Jehovah loves and forgives his people. He pours out his spirit upon them and they enter into intimate fellowship with him.

2. Observe the *individualizing* of the recipients of the divine bounty. The solidarity of the nation is weakened. In the breaking down of the oneness of relation between Jehovah and the nation the thought is dawning that Jehovah may come into individual communication, not merely with national leaders, but also with all who possess

the right spirit. At the same time there is a removal of emphasis from the persons or institutions which in former periods were the bearers of future blessings. The institutions which were established in the Mosaic age to be the media of the bringing in of the ideal community have here passed into the shadow. Monarchy, prophecy, priesthood, these diminish before the one source of all their strength — Jehovah.

3. Consider how what has already been observed is in complete harmony with the *historical situation*, in which the oracles are delivered. At the risk of over-repetition, the student is urged again to bear in mind how each hope, each ideal representation, roots in the soil of experience.

4. Further comparisons might be made with previous periods. How evidently dissatisfaction takes the place of confidence! The assurance that the nation is destined to supremacy, which was observed in the oracles of the Mosaic period, has little place. The ideal man has disappeared, except so far as the indirect suggestion of his possibilities may be drawn from the oracle concerning the pouring out of the spirit upon all flesh. How vague are the assurances of the prophets and how far off they are removed!

One thing only remains, but therein is the ground of hope and the light for the future. The prophet's faith in Jehovah has deepened and broadened. No longer is he the background of hope and assurance. He comes to the forefront in a new aspect, better understood, more fully revealed. And in that larger knowledge and intuition lies the Foreshadowing.

Inductive Studies in the Acts.

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OUTLINE OF THE PRIMITIVE ERA OF CHRISTIANITY.

As Recorded in the Acts of the Apostles.

30-63 A.D.

FIRST DIVISION.—PERIOD OF JEWISH CHRISTIANITY.

Text: Acts 1:1—7:60. Time: Four Years, 30-33 A.D. Locality: Jerusalem.
Leaders: Peter and Stephen.

- SEC. 1. The Parting Instructions and the Exaltation of Jesus.
Acts 1:1-26. May, 30 A.D. Mt. Olivet, Jerusalem.
- SEC. 2. Manifestation of Christ's Spiritual Presence and Leadership.
Acts 2:1-47. May, 30 A.D. Jerusalem.
- SEC. 3. Renewed Hostility of the Jews toward the Christians.
Acts 3:1-4:31. About 31-32 A.D. Jerusalem.
- SEC. 4. Property Relations and Beneficence of the Jerusalem Christians.
Acts 4:32—5:11. About 31-33 A.D. Jerusalem.
- SEC. 5. Apostolic Miracle-Working and Further Jewish Persecution.
Acts 5:12-42. About 32-33 A.D. Jerusalem.
- SEC. 6. First Step in the Development of Christian Organization.
Acts 6:1-7. About 32-33 A.D. Jerusalem.
- SEC. 7. The Preaching of Stephen and its Consequences.
Acts 6:8—7:60. 33 A.D. Jerusalem.

SECOND DIVISION.—PERIOD OF GOSPEL EXPANSION.

Text: Acts 8:1—15:35. Time: Seventeen Years, 34-50 A.D. Localities: Palestine, Syria, Galatia. Leaders: Peter, James, and Paul.

- SEC. 8. First Extension of Organized Christianity beyond Jerusalem.
Acts 8:1-40. 34 A.D. Samaria and elsewhere.

- SEC. 9. The Conversion of Paul from Judaism to Christianity.
Acts 9:1-19a; cf. 22:6-16 and 26:13-18. 34 A.D. Damascus.
- SEC. 10. Paul's Early Christian Activity.
Acts 9:19b-31; cf. Gal. 1:17, 18. 34-37 A.D. Damascus, Arabia, Jerusalem, Cilicia.
- SEC. 11. Peter's Tour of Visitation among the Christians of Palestine.
Acts 9:32-43. About 38-39 A.D. Circuit through Palestine.
- SEC. 12. Peter Retaught the Freedom of Christianity from Judaism.
Acts 10:1-48. About 40 A.D. Joppa, Cæsarea.
- SEC. 13. Concurrence of the Jerusalem Christians in Peter's Action.
Acts 11:1-18. About 40 A.D. Jerusalem.
- SEC. 14. First Mention of the Gentile-Christian Community at Antioch (founded soon after 33 A.D.).
Acts 11:19-30. About 40-42 A.D. Antioch.
- SEC. 15. Persecution of the Jerusalem Christians by Herod.
Acts 12:1-25. 44 A.D. Jerusalem.
- SEC. 16. Paul's First Evangelizing Tour.
Acts 13:1-14:28. About 46-48 A.D. Antioch, Cyprus, Galatia.
- SEC. 17. Joint Conference at Jerusalem concerning the Relation of Christianity to Judaism.
Acts 15:1-35. 50 A.D. Jerusalem.

THIRD DIVISION.—PERIOD OF GENTILE CHRISTIANITY.

- Text: Acts 15:36—28:31. Time: Thirteen Years, 51-63 A.D. Localities: Asia Minor, Greece, Palestine, Italy. Leader: Paul.
- SEC. 18. Paul's Second Evangelizing Tour.
Acts 15:36—18:22. 51-54 A.D. Asia Minor, Greece, Antioch.
- SEC. 19. Paul's Third Evangelizing Tour.
Acts 18:23—21:16. 55-58 A.D. Asia Minor, Illyricum, Greece.
- SEC. 20. Paul's Arrest at Jerusalem through Jewish Enmity.
Acts 21:17—22:29. 58 A.D. Jerusalem.
- SEC. 21. Trial of Paul before the Sanhedrin.
Acts 22:30—23:35. 58 A.D. Jerusalem.
- SEC. 22. Trials of Paul before Felix and Festus.
Acts 24:1—25:12. 58-60 A.D. Cæsarea.
- SEC. 23. Paul's Hearing before Agrippa.
Acts 25:13—26:32. 60 A.D. Cæsarea.
- SEC. 24. Transfer to and Imprisonment at Rome.
Acts 27:1—28:31. 60-63 A.D. Cæsarea, Malta, Rome.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH, 30-100 A. D.

Rome			
Greece and Asia			
Syria and Galatia			
Jerusalem			
Throughout Palestine			
All the known world			
30	DAY OF PENTECOST.	Beginning of the Extension of Christianity. Rapid Growth. Miracle Working. Persecution. Community of Goods. APPOINTMENT OF FIRST FORMAL OFFICERS AMONG THE CHRISTIANS.	
35	PREACHING, TRIAL AND MARTYRDOM OF STEPHEN. CONVERSION OF PAUL.	Paul's Arabian Sojourn and Work in Damascus. Mission Work in many places. Paul's First Christian Visit to Jerusalem.	
40	PETER'S MISSIONARY TOUR AMONG THE PALESTINIAN CHURCHES.		
40	PETER AND CORNELIUS.	UNIVERSALITY OF THE GOSPEL RECOGNIZED. The Church Increasing and Spreading Rapidly.	
45	FIRST MENTION OF THE ANTIOPH CHURCH (founded soon after 33 A.D.).		
45	First Period of Paul's Work in Antioch. Rise of the Term "Christians." MARTYRDOM OF JAMES. DEATH OF HEROD.		
50	BARNABAS AND PAUL VISIT JERUSALEM.	FIRST MENTION OF OFFICE OF ELDER	
50	PAUL'S FIRST EVANGELIZING TOUR.	Churches Founded in Cyprus and Galatia.	
55	Second Period of Paul's Work in Antioch.	Episole of James.	
55	THE CONFERENCE AT JERUSALEM.		
60	PAUL'S SECOND EVANGELIZING TOUR.	Revisits the Churches of Galatia. Eighteen Months in Corinth. 1 and 2 Thessalonians written there.	
60	Third Period of Paul's Work in Antioch.	Galatians written there.	
65	PAUL'S THIRD EVANGELIZING TOUR.	Revisitation in Galatia. Nearly Three Years in Ephesus. 1 Corinthians written there. Revisitation in Macedonia. 2 Corinthians written there. Romans written at Corinth.	
65	FIFTH VISIT OF PAUL TO JERUSALEM.	ARREST AT PENTECOST.	
65	TRIPLE TRIAL OF PAUL, AND THE CAESAREAN IMPRISONMENT.		
70	THE VOYAGE TO ROME.	SHIPWRECK. WINTER AT MALTA.	
70	PAUL'S FIRST ROMAN IMPRISONMENT.	Colossians, Philemon, Ephesians, and Philippians written.	
70	PERIOD OF PAUL'S RELEASE.	Visit to Greece and Asia (possibly also to Spain). 1 Timothy and Titus written.	
70	SUPPOSED SECOND IMPRISONMENT OF PAUL.	2 Timothy. Paul's death (?). Beginning of the Jewish-Roman war. Christians remain neutral.	
70	Epistles of Peter and Jude written perhaps about this time.		
70	Gospel of Mark probably written about this time, perhaps in Italy.		
70	Gospel of Matthew, Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Revelation.		
70	FALL OF JERUSALEM.	DESTRUCTION OF THE TEMPLE.	
80	Gospel of Luke and the Acts probably written somewhere within these ten years, 70-80 A.D.		
80	Johannine Epistles (1, 2, and 3 John) written about this time from Ephesus.		
90	(Scarce any details of the history 70-100 A.D. are known).		
90	GOSPEL OF JOHN WRITTEN ABOUT THIS TIME FROM EPHESUS.		
100	DEATH OF THE APOSTLE JOHN.		
100	CLOSE OF THE PRIMITIVE ERA OF CHRISTIANITY.		

There is much uncertainty as to the precise dates of the events of the Apostolic Age. The chronology indicated above is that upon which at present there is most agreement among scholars. Much variety of opinion however prevails, and current dates may be still further modified. The consecution of events as recorded in Acts is much more to be trusted, but neither here nor there certainty. The relative importance of events is indicated roughly by the relative sizes of type.

THE PRIMITIVE ERA OF CHRISTIANITY.

AS RECORDED IN THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

30-63 A. D.

FIRST DIVISION.—PERIOD OF JEWISH CHRISTIANITY.

Text: Acts 1:1—7:60. **Time:** Four Years, 30-33 A.D. **Locality:** Jerusalem.
Leaders: Peter and Stephen.

During this period the organized Christian community is confined to Jerusalem. It assumes its primitive system of government, rites, methods, and teaching. It becomes firmly established as the Jewish Mother-Church of Christianity. It grows firmly united, and gathers zeal and force for its subsequent missionary activity. It is purified and strengthened by persecution. Its members are Jews, either by birth or by adoption as proselytes. The great problem about which the development of the church during the primitive era turns—namely, whether the Gentiles should be admitted directly to the Christian church without first conforming to Jewish rites—comes into prominence through Stephen only at the close of this period, and serves as the ground of transition to the second period of the history.

SEC. I. THE PARTING INSTRUCTIONS AND THE EXALTATION OF JESUS.

Acts 1:1-26. May, 30 A.D. Mt. Olivet, Jerusalem.

I. STUDY OF THE FACTS.

Let the following subclassification and abstract of the material in this section be verified, corrected, or improved :

Par. 1. 1:1-8, Jesus' Parting Instructions to his Disciples.

Par. 2. 1:9-11, The Ascension of Jesus.

Par. 3. 1:12-14, Fellowship of the Waiting Disciples.

Par. 4. 1:15-26, Election of Matthias to the Twelve.

Abstract.—The author's earlier book narrated the life of Jesus, the present book continues the Christian history from that point. Jesus promised a Spirit baptism to his disciples which should indue them for their work of spreading the gospel through the world. For this they were to wait in Jerusalem. Then from Mt. Olivet came Jesus' exalta-

tion to heaven, and the divine assurance of his return. The company of disciples left by Jesus consisted of the eleven faithful apostles, certain devoted Galilean women with Jesus' mother, the now believing brethren of Jesus, and others, to the number of 120. At one of their meetings Peter, as spokesman of the company, suggested that the vacancy in the twelve made by the withdrawal of Judas be filled. The new apostle must be one who had witnessed Jesus' entire ministry and resurrection. Of two of their number thus qualified one, Matthias, was chosen by lot—a means of determining the divine choice.

II. TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION.

1. *The last instructions of Jesus.*—With whom was Jesus assembled (vs. 4), where, when, and for what purpose? What was the promise of the Father (vs. 4) for which Jesus directed them to wait (*cf.* Luke 24:49; John 7:39; 16:7-14)? Why was a waiting period necessary, how long was it to be, and why in Jerusalem? Does vs. 4 indicate that Jesus' disciples had been baptized by John? Could it be understood from vs. 5 that water baptism was of the old dispensation (*cf.* Matt. 11:11), but that in the new dispensation it was replaced by the baptism of the Spirit (*cf.* Acts 19:1-6)? Compare the water baptism of John with the Spirit baptism promised here. Who were come together (vs. 6), where, when, and why? What power were they to receive (vs. 8), and how was it different from the power they already had? What commission (vs. 8) did Jesus give the disciples? Compare with this Matt. 28:18-20; Luke 24:47-49. What was the scope of this mission? Did the disciples so understand it from the first and attempt to carry it out? Of what were they to be witnesses (vs. 8)? See the passages where such witness-bearing is recorded, Luke 24:53; Acts 2:32; 10:37-43; 13:23-31, and others. What qualifications in this matter were requisite for apostles (vss. 21, 22)?

2. *The apostles' idea of the kingdom.*—What suggested this question (vs. 6) which the disciples addressed to Jesus? What did they mean by the restoration of the kingdom to Israel? To what extent did the disciples still expect Jesus to become a political, temporal, and visible Messiah? How could they hold these views after receiving Jesus' teaching of the spiritual Messiahship? Consider Jesus' reply to their question. To what event or events did Jesus refer, the "times and seasons" of which had not been disclosed (*cf.* Mark 13:32)? Explain the patience of Jesus in dealing with the lingering misconceptions of himself and his work.

3. *The exaltation of Jesus.*—Compare the other accounts of the ascension in Mark 16:19, 20; Luke 24:50, 51. Compare with it also the translation of Elijah, 2 Kings 2:9-12. What is meant (vs. 9) by "taken up"? What was the cloud which received him (*cf.* Mark 9:7; 1 Kings 8:10, 11; Isaiah 6:1-4)? What was the purpose of God in this visible exaltation of his Son? Who were the two white-robed men (*cf.* Luke 24:1-7), and why were they present? What prompted their question to the disciples? Just what information did they give? What is to be understood by the statement that "in like manner" Jesus will return (*cf.* the same phrase in Matt. 23:37; Luke 13:34; Acts 7:28; and see Matt. 24:30; Mark 13:26)? Compare the angelic appearance of vss. 10, 11 with other angelic appearances recounted by Luke (*e. g.*, Luke 1:11-22, 26-38; 2:8-15; 22:43; 24:4-8; Acts 7:30-38; 10:3-7; 12:7-15), as also with similar accounts in other gospels (Matt. 1:20-24; 2:13-21; 28:2-7; John 12:29; 20:12, 13); what view should be taken as to the reality and as to the details of these manifestations?

4. *The first group of disciples.*—Observe four different elements which constituted this primitive company of Christians: *a)* The eleven apostles; compare this list (vs. 13) with those found in Matt. 10:2-4; Mark 3:16-19; Luke 6:14-16. *b)* Jesus' mother and other women who had been adherents of Jesus in his public ministry (*cf.* Mark 15:40; Luke 8:1-3; 23:49; 24:22; Acts 8:3). *c)* Jesus' own brothers; how many, what change had taken place in them, and why (*cf.* Matt. 13:55; John 7:3-5; 1 Cor. 15:7)? *d)* Other unnamed disciples, making in all 120 (vs. 15). Where were the homes of these followers of Christ? Were there still other disciples elsewhere (*cf.* 1 Cor. 15:6)? Why was the number of the Christians so small? How was this company engaged during the waiting period?

5. *The election of Matthias to the twelve.*—Why did Peter suggest that the place left vacant by Judas should be filled? Are vss. 18, 19 to be regarded as the words of Peter, or as a parenthetic addition of the writer or his source? How is this account of Judas' death to be explained in view of the account contained in Matt. 26:47-50? Was it God's will that Judas' place in the twelve should be filled; if so, what of the view that Paul was divinely intended to take the place rather than Matthias? Whence did Luke, who was not one of this company, derive the information contained in this chapter? Ascertain the meaning in their original historical setting of the Old Testament passages cited by Peter in support of his suggestion, Ps. 69:25;

109:8. Consider the use made of them in this connection by Peter. Since both Matthias and Barsabas were qualified for the apostolate, why did not the disciples themselves select the one or the other? What use was accustomed to be made of the lot, and how was it operated? Was the lot a proper mode of ascertaining the divine will? Was the divine choice limited to one of the two named? By the term "Lord" (vs. 24) is God to be understood, or Christ? Do we know anything further about Matthias or Barsabas? In this first recorded business meeting of the disciples, were the apostles shown to be officers, or merely leaders, Peter acting as spokesman of the group? Did the whole company take equal part in the business which was transacted? Was the method of procedure entirely democratic? Is there any evidence of formal officers or of any formal organization of the Christians at this time?

III. OBSERVATIONS AND TEACHINGS.

Under this head the more important facts and teachings of this chapter are to be gathered and arranged logically, so that the great lines of the history shall clearly appear, as well as its practical bearing upon our own lives. The observations and teachings which follow are only by way of suggestion. They should be traced to their sources in Acts 1 and verified or corrected. Then others should be added to them which the student will find. The permanent value of the study will be much increased by faithful work at this point.

1. *Organization.*—The Jerusalem group of Christians numbered 120, and there were perhaps some others elsewhere; but Jesus' work had not had numerical success.—It was regarded as important that the place in the twelve left vacant by Judas' withdrawal should be filled from the body of disciples, and Matthias was appointed to the apostolate.—There was as yet no formal organization of the Christians; the apostles acted as leaders, and Peter was the spokesman of the company.—The disciples, in the transaction of their business, seem to have acted upon thoroughly democratic principles.

2. *Environment.*—The ten days of this period were spent quietly by the Christians, without aggressive work, waiting for the fulfilment of Christ's promise.—The Jewish enemies were inactive after the culmination of their persecution in the death of Jesus.—Jesus plainly pointed out the whole world as the sphere of the gospel; to his conception it was a universal religion.—The brothers of Jesus, who disbelieved in his claims during his life, became his followers after his resurrection.—The believing women were a testimony to the fact that the gospel had placed woman on a higher, freer, and better plane.

3. *Institutions.*—The rites of baptism and the Lord's Supper are not yet mentioned, but were probably recognized, for on the day of

Pentecost they appear in the records.—The Christians had meetings for worship and prayer.—They probably continued also the observance of Jewish religious customs.

4. *Belief and teaching.*—Christ's resurrection appearances and teaching were all-important in the preparation of the disciples for their work.—Jesus dealt gently with the Messianic misconception which still remained in the apostles' minds.—The departure of the visible Christ was accompanied by the assurance of his return.—Jesus gave no answer concerning the time of his return, since he himself did not know when it would be and did not consider it of importance to know.—New experiences led to a new understanding and use of the Old Testament Scriptures which contained types and foreshadowings of the Messianic period.

5. *Daily life.*—The injunctions of Christ were faithfully kept by his disciples.—The early Christians were closely united both in their social and in their religious life.—They awaited the fulfilment of the promise with trust, thanksgiving, joy, and expectancy.

6. *Divine guidance.*—Jesus' parting command and promise show his continued relation, beyond the ascension, to his followers on earth.—The Holy Spirit was to be always with them in full measure to guide and strengthen them in their work.—Devotion, ability, and energy in a few persons counted for more than numbers in spreading and establishing the gospel.

Literature.—This section of Acts receives elucidation in all the commentaries on Acts, under Chap. I; see the commentaries of GLOAG (Scribners, N. Y., 2 vols., \$7.00), HACKETT (Amer. Bapt. Pub. Society, Philadelphia, \$2.00), MEYER (Funk & Wagnalls Co., N. Y., \$2.00), CAMBRIDGE BIBLE (Macmillan Co., N. Y., \$1.25), and others. These are all first-class works. Gloag's Commentary is the best, but expensive. Next to it stands Hackett's. Meyer's Commentary, of high value, would hardly be satisfactory if only one commentary could be afforded. The Cambridge Bible will be found sufficient for most students. The general works upon the Apostolic Age make little or no reference to this portion of the history.

SEC. 2. MANIFESTATION OF CHRIST'S SPIRITUAL PRESENCE AND LEADERSHIP.

Acts 2 : 1-47 May, 30 A. D. Jerusalem.

I. STUDY OF THE FACTS.

Let the following subclassification and abstract of the material in this section be verified, corrected, or improved :

- Par. 1. 2:1-4, Fulfilment of the Promise of the Spirit.
 Par. 2. 2:5-13, The Inspired Tongue-speaking.
 Par. 3. 2:14-36, Peter's Pentecostal Address.
 Par. 4. 2:37-42, Numerical Increase of the Christians.
 Par. 5. 2:43-47, The Disciples' Manner of Life.

Abstract.—On the day of Pentecost following the ascension, while the disciples were assembled in a private house for prayer, the promised outpouring of the Spirit came, attested to the senses by accompanying noise and symbolic light, as also by tongue-speaking among the Christians. The strange sound attracted to the place where the disciples were assembled a large number of Jews and Jewish proselytes, some of them residents in Jerusalem, others from foreign lands sojourning in the city in attendance upon the feast. All wished to know the meaning of this remarkable occurrence. The apostles, through their spokesman Peter, gave the explanation. They were witnessing the fulfilment of Joel's prediction that at the coming of the Messiah's kingdom God would pour out his Spirit so abundantly that all would prophesy. The Messiah had come in the person of Jesus of Nazareth, whose wonderful works attested his divine mission. He had been rejected and crucified, but that had been foreseen and foreordained by God, who had now exalted him. The psalmist had predicted how the Messiah should be released from the grave and should sit at God's right hand. This had taken place, Jesus had been made Lord of all, and his kingdom was now being conspicuously established upon the earth. The effect of the divine manifestation and the apostle's words was immediate and great. About three thousand persons accepted Jesus as Messiah and Master, and became associated with the original body of disciples, receiving from the apostles instruction concerning the life and teachings of Christ. The Christian community held fast together, giving to the needy, continuing their Jewish worship, observing the memorial supper of their Lord, living in joy and peace, and continually winning additions to their number.

II. TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION.

1. *The Pentecostal coming of the Spirit.*—When and what was the Jewish feast of Pentecost? Cf. Ex. 23:14-17; Deut. 16:1-17. Did Pentecost in the year 30 A. D. fall upon the first day of the week (Sunday)? Why was the day of Pentecost chosen by God for the outpouring of the Spirit? How long was this after the resurrection, and after the ascension, of Jesus? Recall Jesus' promise of the Spirit, cf.

Acts 1:4, 5; John 15:26; 16:7-14. Had not the Holy Spirit been present and active among men before this time? What was the peculiarity of this Pentecostal visitation? Was this bestowal in part of temporary gifts, *e. g.*, tongue-speaking and miracle-working? Where were the Christians assembled on this day, and for what purpose? On the symbolic wind and fire compare Ps. 104:3, 4; Ezek. 1:4; Ex. 13:21; 19:16-20. What was the purpose of these external signs?

2. *The Jews of the Dispersion.*—In what numbers and where outside of Palestine were Jews found in the first century A. D.? Recall the three great compulsory dispersions of the Jews in the previous centuries, *cf.* 2 Kings 15:29; 17:6; 25:8-11. Had there also been voluntary removals of Jews to foreign lands for the pursuit of business? Why and how did the dispersed Jews maintain their Jewish religion in the foreign countries where they dwelt? In vs. 5 does "dwelling at Jerusalem" mean resident there or sojourning there at the feast, or does it include both? Was the feast of Pentecost largely attended by the Jews of the Dispersion; if so, why? Locate upon the map the various places referred to in vss. 9-11. Why do these visitors figure so largely in the account of this Christian occasion? How did the Jewish Dispersion assist in the spread of the gospel through Gentile lands?

3. *The gift of tongues.*—What is to be inferred from vss. 4, 6, 11, as to the nature of the tongue-speaking referred to? Consider two explanations: an actual speaking in different foreign languages and dialects, or an ecstatic, incoherent utterance of the believing Christian manifesting his joy in the possession of the Spirit. Would the former gift be necessary in view of the fact that Greek was the common language of all the Roman Empire? If the apostles were speaking intelligibly in foreign languages why were they by some regarded as drunk (vs. 13)? Observe that there was among the primitive Christians a spiritual gift called tongue-speaking which was uniformly of the second character described above, *cf.* Acts 10:46; 19:6; 1 Cor. 12-14 (esp. 14:14, 19, 22, 23). May it be, then, that the source from which Luke drew his account of the day of Pentecost misunderstood the phenomenon, and that it was in fact only the common tongue-speaking? See especially Schaff's *History of the Christian Church*, Vol. I, pp. 231-242.

4. *Peter's Pentecostal discourse.*—Why did Peter give the address on this occasion? Why did the eleven apostles stand up with him? What two classes of people did he designate among his hearers? Was

it the main point of Peter's discourse to prove to the Jews that Jesus was the Messiah in spite of his humiliation and death? Consider carefully the steps of his argument to this end. Under what circumstances was this quoted prophecy of Joel (2:28-32) originally given? Explain the use made of it by Peter in this connection. What is meant (vs. 17) by the "last days"? What is meant (vs. 20) by the "day of the Lord"? Consider the original historical meaning of Ps. 16:8-11 quoted in this address. What argument did Peter deduce from it, and was his interpretation of the passage valid? What was Peter's argument from Ps. 110:1 for the exaltation of Christ, cf. Matt. 22:43-45? Consider in detail the points of teaching about Christ contained in the discourse. Show how the discourse was adapted to the situation. What was its effect? From what classes came the new converts? What was required of them? Account for the large number of converts. Why had not Jesus had such numerical success? How did Luke probably obtain this account of the day of Pentecost for his history? Are we to suppose that all of Peter's discourse is here recorded, or that we have only the main points he made, the substance of what he said?

5. *Characteristics of the primitive Christian life.*—What were the conditions of entrance (belief, conduct, and form) to the company of disciples? What had made baptism a Christian rite, cf. Luke 24:47; Matt. 28:19? What did baptism signify to these converts, and how was it administered? Was there also a Spirit baptism, cf. Acts 1:5; 2:28; 19:1-6? Was the Lord's Supper also observed as a Christian rite ("breaking of bread," cf. Acts 20:7, 11; 1 Cor. 10:16), and why, cf. Matt. 26:26-29; Luke 22:14-20? What was the apostles' teaching to which the new disciples gave continued attention (vs. 42)—was it instruction in the life and teaching of Jesus? What wonders and signs were done by the apostles (vs. 43), and why? Consider the self-sacrifice and charity of the primitive Christians as described in vss. 44, 45. Why did the Christians, who at this time were practically all Jews, remain faithful to the temple service and Jewish worship generally? Had Christ taught that Christianity was independent of Judaism? If so, why did they not so believe and act? Did they have also distinctly Christian meetings for prayer, worship, and fellowship? Account for the unity, joy, and praise of this Christian company. Explain the meaning of vs. 47, last clause. Compare this type of Christian living with ours of the present day, showing points of excellence and of deficiency in each.

III. OBSERVATIONS AND TEACHINGS.

1. *Organization.*—There is still no formal organization of the Christians, although the number is greatly increased; but a close fellowship and united activity and life.—The Christians were gathered together for united worship when the great outpouring of the Spirit came.—The apostles stood up to represent the body of the disciples, while Peter spoke as the representative of the apostles.—Peter here sustains the same relation to the other apostles as during Christ's ministry—he is leader and spokesman.

2. *Environment.*—The time had come when Christianity could achieve numerical success.—The large number of new disciples were mostly visitors to the feast from Galilee and foreign lands.—They were almost wholly Jews, with perhaps some Gentiles who had become Jews by adopting that religion.—It may be presumed that the chief persecutors of Jesus were not among the converts.

3. *Institutions.*—Baptism was used as a symbolic rite of entrance upon the Christian life; it seems to have been instituted by Jesus, although he did not himself use it in his work.—The breaking of bread (Lord's Supper) was observed as a memorial of Christ, in accordance with his instruction; it took place either at the beginning or at the end of a common Christian meal daily.—The Christians adhered to their Jewish worship; at the same time they had distinctly Christian meetings for prayer, worship, and fellowship.

4. *Belief and teaching.*—Peter's discourse is full of truth newly conceived and presented, and is manifestly inspired utterance.—The main teaching of the discourse is that Jesus is Messiah and Lord, a truth witnessed to by his work on earth, and especially by the Old Testament Messianic prophecies which found their fulfilment in him.—The emphasis is here laid on the prophecies because he was addressing Jews who believed in these.—Peter explained the humiliation, rejection, and death of Christ as foreseen by God rather than a thwarting of his purposes, and showed how his resurrection and exaltation removed that objection to believing in him.—Repentance, and baptism as a symbol of it, were necessary to an acceptance of Christ and a fellowship with his disciples.—Instruction in the facts and the truths of the gospel formed an essential part in the daily life of the Christians.

5. *Daily life.*—Besides the instruction just referred to, the daily life of the Christians was marked by close association, unity of heart

and action, joy, worship, and prayer, commemoration of Christ, and energetic preaching of the gospel.—The Christian life, work, and teaching impressed and won the unconverted about them, so that their numbers continually increased.—It is not known whether the Christians stopped their common avocations in order to give their whole time to the new life and activity ; probably some of them did so ; at any rate they had frequent meetings at private houses and were faithful and earnest in their evangelical work.

6. *Divine guidance.*—Christ's relations to his people are vital and permanent.—The Holy Spirit is present in believers, and in the world, to carry forward the kingdom which Christ established.—The inner experience of the Spirit was signified and emphasized on the day of Pentecost by external symbolic manifestations.—The opportunity given the Christians to reach the multitude with the gospel was fully used.

Literature.—Full treatment of this important section of Acts will be found in all commentaries on the book ; see especially Gloag, Hackett, Meyer, and the Cambridge Bible. Many other works also treat of this event, only the more important of which (and such as are in English) will be mentioned : SCHAFF, History of the Christian Church (Scribners, N. Y.), Vol. I, pp. 225-245; NEANDER, Planting and Training of the Christian Church (Macmillan Co., N. Y.), Vol. I, pp. 3-23, Vol. II, pp. 58-64; FARRAR, Life of St. Paul (Dutton & Co., N. Y.), chaps. v and vii; STIFLER, Introduction to the Book of Acts (Revell Co., Chicago), secs. ii and iii; brief comment in RAMSAY, St. Paul the Traveler (Putnam's Sons, N. Y.), pp. 363-365. One of the greatest works upon the apostolic age, but one which is extreme in its criticism and requires to be read with independence and caution, will be of constant service in this study, namely, WEIZSÄCKER, Apostolic Age of the Christian Church (Putnam's Sons, N. Y., 2 vols.); on this section see Vol. I, chaps. ii and iii.

The Council of Seventy.

THE Council of Seventy held its first annual meeting at The University of Chicago on Friday and Saturday, December 11 and 12.

At this first meeting of the Council the following members were present: Professor C. F. Bradley, Dr. J. H. Breasted, Professor A. S. Carrier, Professor S. I. Curtiss, Dr. C. E. Crandall, Professor G. B. Foster, Professor O. H. Gates, Professor G. H. Gilbert, Professor G. S. Goodspeed, President W. R. Harper, Professor Shailer Mathews, Dr. C. W. Votaw, Dr. H. L. Willett, Professor A. C. Zenos. Letters from thirty-four absent members were read. The following additional persons were voted into membership, conditional on their acceptance of the invitation: Professor G. L. Robinson, Toronto, Canada; Professor Nathaniel Schmidt, Cornell University; Professor Francis Brown, Union Theological Seminary; Professor A. W. Anthony, Cobb Divinity School; Professor John H. Kerr, San Francisco Theological Seminary; Professor D. A. Hayes, Garrett Biblical Institute; Professor E. I. Bosworth, Oberlin Seminary; Professor W. A. Stevens, Rochester Theological Seminary; Professor Marvin R. Vincent, Union Theological Seminary; Professor J. H. Thayer, Harvard University; Professor J. W. Platner, Harvard University; Professor E. K. Mitchell, Hartford Theological Seminary.

In addition to the members of the Council there were present several delegates from western colleges, Professor Chapin of Beloit, Professor Fowler of Knox College, President Chaffee of Pella, Iowa, and others.

The President's annual report showed the following results of the work of the American Institute of Sacred Literature through the past year:

Correspondence schools.—Students in Hebrew, 75; in New Testament Greek, 44; in English Bible, 15, and in Arabic, 1. In this department is recorded the affiliation with the Kansas Biblical Institute and the Central Wesleyan College.

Reading work.—In the Guild there were 258 members, one-half of whom were men. The following occupations of members show the

field into which this course has entered: Ministers, housewives, teachers, missionaries, merchants, lawyers, stenographers, clerks, bankers, college students, telegraph operators, printers, bookkeepers, artists, chemists, professors, engineers, librarians, laborers, physicians, manufacturers.

In the Outline Club Course the total number of members in America and Australia was 4240. These included, in America, 2051 studying in clubs and 989 studying alone. The following organizations were represented: Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor, Epworth League, King's Daughters, Women's Christian Temperance Union, Young Women's Christian Temperance Union, Young Men's Christian Association, Young Women's Christian Association, St. Andrew's Brotherhood, and the Baptist Young People's Union. These were from eighteen religious denominations, the Presbyterian, Methodist Episcopal, and Baptist leading.

Summer schools.—Fifteen summer schools, varying in length from 10 days to 12 weeks, were held. In these schools 33 instructors were employed and 58 courses offered. A total of nearly 3000 persons received instruction.

Literature issued.—(a) Circulars, 500,000; (b) instruction sheets to members, 110,000; (c) 16 essays, and 64 special studies.

This report was followed by a discussion of the platform of the Council, the formation of guilds, and the addition of an associate membership.

The afternoon was further taken up with a discussion of Bible study in the college, opened by Professor Shailer Mathews. The remarks were in brief as follows: "Colleges fall in this matter into three classes: those which give no Bible instruction whatever; those which give a brief time, perhaps an hour a week, to general ethical instruction from the Bible, and those which have systematic elective courses in the Bible. The aim should be to secure the last named kind of biblical work in all colleges. The Council of Seventy should give its efforts and influence to securing this. The data of biblical teaching in all American colleges should be gathered by the Council, and then a systematic and prolonged attempt should be made to introduce biblical instruction where now there is none, and to improve the character of it where it already exists.

"The aim of the Bible study in colleges should be primarily for those who do not expect to go into the ministry, but wish to be and need to be at least as well informed about biblical history, literature,

and teaching as they are about other departments of facts and thought. The courses should be elective and should be few in number, covering both Old and New Testaments, and should be historical in their nature, taking up facts, literature, and teaching."

As a result of this meeting a committee of five was appointed to investigate thoroughly the teaching of the Bible in American colleges, this committee to report and make suggestions at the next annual meeting. The members of this committee are Professor O. H. Gates, Professor C. F. Bradley, Professor W. J. Beecher, Professor F. K. Sanders, and Professor E. T. Harper.

Councilors and guests dined together at the Quadrangle Club. At the evening meeting, to which the ministers and Bible teachers of the city were invited, addresses were made upon "The Teaching of the Bible,—a New Calling," by President William R. Harper, Professor Richard G. Moulton, Rev. L. A. Crandall, and Professor Andrew C. Zenos. Mr. Dixon, Secretary of the Springfield School for Christian Workers, was present, and spoke of their work toward better Bible study in the Sunday schools.

On Saturday the chambers of the Council met in separate session and discussed the several subjects announced in the programme:

(1) The preparation of a list of Old and New Testament books for college and private libraries. Committees were appointed for the preparation of two lists, each list to include about 200 volumes, one to be purely scientific, the other to be popular in its nature. A brief description of the contents, position, and relative value of each book will accompany the title. The lists are to be revised at the next annual meeting, and later to be published.

(2) Special difficulties of the Bible teacher.

(3) The best order of Old and New Testament study.

The definition of the scope of the general chamber was changed to read: "The historical study of the religious ideas of the various sacred literatures of the world in their relation to one another, biblical theology being the central topic and receiving special attention;" or, more compactly, "Comparative theology, with emphasis on biblical theology."

These meetings were followed by a second session of the entire Council, and the following officers were elected for the ensuing year: President of the Council, William R. Harper; Recorder, Dr. C. W. Votaw; Treasurer, Professor G. S. Goodspeed. OLD TESTAMENT CHAMBER.—Master, Professor A. S. Carrier; Scribe, Dr. H. L. Willett.

NEW TESTAMENT CHAMBER.—Master, Professor E. D. Burton; Scribe, Professor G. H. Gilbert. GENERAL CHAMBER.—Master, Professor A. C. Zenos; Scribe, Professor G. B. Foster.

It will be remembered that these officers, constituting the Senate of the Council, have immediate charge of the work of the American Institute of Sacred Literature for the ensuing year.

After luncheon at the Quadrangle Club the Council adjourned.

Too much emphasis cannot be laid upon this first meeting together of a body of men whose threefold purpose is, (1) to associate more closely those who desire to promote the study of the Bible from the historical standpoint, and of other sacred literature as related to it; (2) to induce properly qualified persons to undertake this work either independently or in connection with another calling; (3) to extend, through the American Institute of Sacred Literature, a wider acquaintance with the right methods of Bible study and their results.

Exploration and Discovery.

THE ISRAEL TABLET.

Much has been written concerning the above tablet, with which the readers of the BIBLICAL WORLD are doubtless already familiar, but as misleading impressions of its historical bearing have undoubtedly been made of late, a further word concerning it seems necessary.

Our readers are already acquainted with the scene of Mr. Petrie's excavations of last winter at Thebes as published in these pages (February and April 1896). Among the many important results of these excavations is the discovery of several lost temples, among which the most important was that of Merneptah. It was constructed largely of magnificent materials, deliberately stolen from the neighboring temple of Amenhotep III, and ruthlessly broken up for the purpose. This explains the almost total disappearance of Amenhotep III's temple, which stood behind the well-known colossi of the plain, and the entrance of which they guarded. Among these materials thus appropriated was a splendid stela of black syenite ten feet three inches high, five feet four inches wide, and thirteen inches thick. It had been inscribed with an account of Amenhotep III's religious activities but had been defaced by his son Amenhotep IV, to erase the name and mention of Amon. It was beautifully recut by Seti I, as the column at the top (Fig. 1) informs us. Such had been its history when Merneptah saw it and seized it for his temple. There he placed it face to the wall and engraved upon the exposed back a hymn of praise to himself. It is this text which contains the reference to Israel.

It is the purpose of these notes to offer only a commentary on this passage and its context, not to present any theory of the date and Pharaoh of the exodus. Let us simply ascertain what the inscription says and what it means. As the reader may see in figure 2, the tablet contains a text of twenty eight lines. Of these, twenty-five and part of the twenty-sixth are devoted to the celebration of a great victory of Merneptah over the Libyans in his fifth year, with which we were before familiar; the remainder, of less than three lines, contains a list



FIG. I.—THE RECUT INSCRIPTION OF AMENHOTEP III, ON THE BACK OF WHICH IS ENGRAVED THE VICTORIOUS HYMN OF MERNEPTAH.

From a photograph by Brugsch.

of eight northern peoples or localities conquered by the king. The whole is in poetry. The list is as follows :

1. "The kings are overthrown, saying 'Salâm';"
2. "Not one is holding up his head among the nine bows ;"
3. "Undone is Tehenu ;"
4. "Kheta is pacified ;"
5. "Plundered is Pa-Kanana with every evil ;"
6. "Carried away is Ashkelon ;"

7. "Seized upon is Gezer ;
8. "Yenuam is made as one that is not ;
9. "Israel is desolated ; his grain is not ;
10. "Palestine has become as widows for Egypt.
11. "All lands,—together they are in peace,
12. "Everyone who rebels is subdued by the King Merneptah."¹

These concluding lines of the inscription form a clearly defined strophe of twelve verses ; it opens (vss. 1 and 2) and closes (vss. 11 and 12) with a couplet containing a general statement of the subjugation of the foreign peoples, while in the eight verses between is the list of these peoples. It is important to note that these opening and closing couplets thus decisively designate the list of names inclosed between them, as those of foreign countries or peoples, none of which was in Egypt at this time.

COMMENTARY, VSS. 1 AND 2. As indicated above, they contain a general statement of the subjugation of the foreign nations. The couplet is a synonymous parallelism, in which "kings" and "nine bows" correspond, the latter being a poetic designation of the foreign peoples as a whole.

Vs. 3. The list naturally begins with the Libyans just defeated, who form the nucleus of the north African tribes designated by "Tehenu."

Vs. 4. Here follow the Asiatic enemies of Egypt, beginning naturally with the most formidable, the Hittites. The word translated "pacified" means simply "to be satisfied," and it is only from the parallelism that the translation can be justified ; for as far as we know Merneptah had never broken the treaty of peace made with the Hittites by his father Ramses II, and the great Karnak inscription states that Merneptah sent supply vessels to them with grain. This insertion of "Kheta" among the list is therefore possibly gratuitous boasting.

Vs. 5. Why Canaan (called Pa-Kanana, literally "the Canaan") should follow the Hittites is not evident. Among the Egyptians Canaan was the term for nearly the whole of western Syria, and in the north on the coast would reach far beyond the southern limits of the Hittites who were further inland on the Orontes.

Vss. 6–8. Here there is possibly a definite grouping of localities and a movement from south to north. Ashkelon, the well-known Philistine city, marks the southern beginning; Gezer next, in southern

¹ His double name is used.

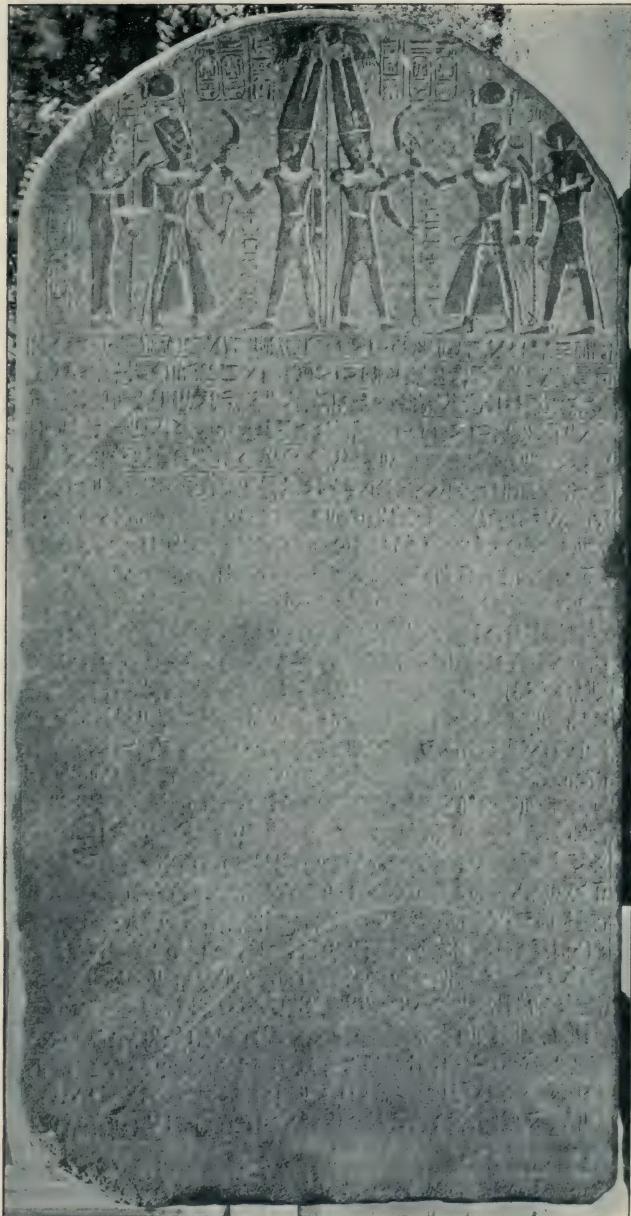


FIG. 2.—THE VICTORIOUS HYMN OF MERNEPTAH CONTAINING, IN THE MIDDLE OF THE SECOND LINE FROM BELOW, THE NAME OF ISRAEL.

From a photograph by Brugsch.

Ephraim just northwest of Jerusalem, carries us a step further northward; while Yenuam, inland from Tyre, completes the northern progress. All three are cities.

Vs. 9. Regarding the reading of the word "Israel" there can be no possible question. The consonants¹ are נְשָׂרֵף with vowel indications after שׂ and רֵ. Doubt has been cast on the meaning of the word² (*fk*) here translated "desolated." This meaning is established by placing our passage parallel with two others thus:

"Israel is *fk*,³ his grain is not."

1. "Those who reached my border are desolated, their grain is not."⁴

2. "The Seped are desolated, their grain is not."⁴

3. "The fire has made entrance to us, our grain is not" (words of defeated Libyans).⁵

Its meaning "to waste" or "desolate" is therefore clear. But the word itself occurs elsewhere in the same connection:

4. "Their cities are turned to ashes, destroyed, desolated (*fk*), their grain is not."⁶

Sayce informs us (in the *Homiletic Review*, September 1896, p. 199) that this word (*fk*) "is met with here (meaning on the Israel tablet) for the first time." (!) There has been much diversity of opinion regarding the meaning of the phrase in our text: "his grain is not." Spiegelberg has given three examples of this phrase;⁷ but the texts of the same period contain two more, making five. These two are No. 1 above and the fifth as follows:

5. "Overthrown (?) is the chief of ——, its grain is not."⁸

Nos. 3 and 4 make it very evident that the phrase means the destruction of supplies by fire. Hence the word translated "grain" (*prt*), in our passage, cannot by any possibility mean "seed" in the sense of offspring or posterity, a meaning which it elsewhere occasion-

¹ The use of s (instead of š) for שׂ has plenty of parallels.

² It is written *fkt* in the text, the *t* being the misreading of hieratic *x*.

³ Wars of Ramses III against the northerners (eighth year). Medinet Habu, l. 23.

⁴ DÜMICHEN, *Hist. Inschriften*, I, XXIV, l. 36. Quoted also by Spiegelberg, ZA, XXXIV, 23.

⁵ War of Ramses III against Libyans (fifth year), Medinet Habu, l. 47. Quoted also by SPIEGELBERG ZA, XXXIV, 23.

⁶ DÜMICHEN, *Hist. Inschriften*, I, XX, l. 2. Quoted also by SPIEGELBERG, ZA, XXXIV, 23.

⁷ ZA, XXXIV, 23.

⁸ Ramses III's war with the Libyans (fifth year) ll. 13, 14, Medinet Habu.

ally has. Moreover, in the above five passages, this phrase is applied to the Libyans (twice), to the Seped, to the northern maritime peoples, and to the Tehenu. It is perfectly clear, therefore, that we have in it a conventional, stereotyped phrase which could be and was applied to any conquered and plundered people; it indicates nothing more than the loss of their supplies of grain or produce. I hope the passages adduced have made this clear to the non-Egyptologist, so that he may not be misled by such statements as the following:

" the Egyptian scribe draws a discreet veil of silence over the flight of Israel and the loss of the pursuing host in the waters of the sea, and describes only the effect of the measures that had been taken to destroy the "seed of Israel;" or again "The expression used of the Israelites on the newly found stela is nothing less than a summary of the biblical account"¹ (meaning the slaying of the male children in Exodus). Certainly no one with a knowledge of the above parallel passages could have published such statements. The article in which they occur is entitled: "Light on the Pentateuch from Egyptology;" we must confess a doubt as to the appropriateness of this title, or else infer that this "light" from Egypt owing to the intensity of the Mosaic atmosphere, has likewise suffered eclipse.

In the *Contemporary Review* of last November we find Mr. Sayce setting the biblical critics and the archæologists over against each other in two hostile camps; then taking his stand as the spokesman of the latter he shows how archæology is upsetting the results of biblical criticism.

If the article in the *Homiletic Review* is an example of the method by which the critic is to be routed he has very little to fear, and we take occasion to add that so far as the archæology of Egypt is concerned it has very strikingly confirmed the general results of Old Testament criticism.

To return to our commentary, vs. 9 therefore indicates that Israel has suffered defeat and been spoiled of her provisions and produce. It is perfectly clear that the author of the text thinks of Israel as in Syria among the Syrian peoples and places mentioned with her. This is also implied in the strophic structure (see above). That he writes the determinative for "people" with the word "Israel" is not necessarily significant, but the reference to "Israel" by means of the pronoun "his" (in "his grain is not") shows clearly that the writer has the collective people in mind, for had he meant the land, the pronoun would have been feminine.

¹SAYCE in *Hom. Rev.*, September 1896, p. 199 f.

Vs. 10. "Palestine" has become as helpless as widows before the attacks of Egypt.

Vss. 11-12. The concluding couplet, containing in a synonymous parallelism the general statement of the subjugation of the nations, and corresponding to the introductory couplet.

It is difficult to decide whether or not these twelve verses indicate that Merneptah made a campaign in Palestine and Syria, but the definite mention of certain places would incline one to the conclusion that he did. Nothing decisive on this question can be stated until further material shall be discovered.

As already stated, these notes are intended only to present briefly the real meaning of the passage referring to Israel. The date of the exodus is another question, depending entirely on how long Israel has been in Palestine at the time of our inscription, viz., the fifth year of Merneptah. One thing is certain, that Merneptah can no longer be called the Pharaoh of the exodus, unless the wilderness wandering be given up.

To sum up, although this inscription does not identify the Pharaoh of the exodus for us, it gives us a definite date, the latter part of the thirteenth century, B. C., at which we find Israelites in Palestine. Unless we accept the improbable hypothesis of a divided Israel, this is a certain *terminus ad quem* for the date of the exodus. The establishment of the date of this event within narrower limits awaits further evidence, which, judging from Mr. Petrie's brilliant discovery, the soil of Egypt is very likely to furnish us.

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 See also MASPERO'S *The Struggle of the Nations*, just appeared.

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Book Reviews.

A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to Luke. (International Critical Commentary Series.) By the REV. ALFRED PLUMMER, D.D., Master of University College, Durham. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1896. Pp. lxxxviii + 590. \$3.

The dearth of good commentaries on the third gospel, as well as the character of the other volumes of the series, notably that of Professor Sanday and Mr. Headlam, has increased the interest with which the volume of the English editor of the New Testament section has been awaited. Although no general introduction to the entire set of commentaries has appeared it is evident from the prospectus as well as from the title that they are to be critical as well as exegetical. This promise has been to a considerable degree fulfilled in the Old Testament volumes of Professors Driver and Moore, and also, though to a much less degree, by the one volume of the New Testament which as yet has demanded any critical introduction, that by Professor Gould upon Mark. We are therefore doubly ready to observe how far the author of this new contribution to the series has allowed criticism to act as the servant of exegesis.

The volume contains a somewhat notable introduction to the gospel, but its notable character is due far less to any documentary hypothesis than to an extended study of the characteristics both in style and language of the gospel and Acts. It would be difficult to find a more elaborate comparative work upon stylistic characteristics than that found between pages xli and lxvii of the Introduction. If, however, we look for other critical investigation, we find only too brief a discussion not only of the integrity of the gospel, but also of its sources. From the preface to the volume we learn that economy of space has had to be considered and rigorously enforced, and that many subjects which might be discussed at some length in a work on the gospel of Luke have been entirely untouched. A further cause of such omission is declared to be the new volume promised in the series, the *Commentary on the Synopsis of the Four Gospels* by Professor Sanday

and the Rev. W. C. Allen. This may explain why the various questions which concern the relations of the third gospel to the first and second have been but slightly touched or entirely omitted. This is as unfortunate as it may have been unavoidable. And it must be added that the author's treatment of the sources of the gospel itself is very uncertain. Professor Plummer recognizes both oral and documentary sources as having been used by Luke, and among the former the words of persons whom Luke may have met and asked concerning the events of our Lord's life; but in dealing with documentary sources his touch is by no means firm. He is not altogether certain that Luke used our second gospel in its present form. Neither is he altogether certain as to just what the relations of Matthew and Luke are. On the whole he seems to favor the common view that they both used the same collection or two similar collections of the *Oracles*; while in addition to the two main sources of narrative and the *Logia* Luke used Aramaic documents dealing with the infancy. He had also large sources of information peculiar to himself which were probably in writing. This theory, it will be seen, is that which is more generally accepted, but Professor Plummer does not attempt to apply it in any documentary analysis of the text. It is true that he has admirably analyzed the gospel and has signified those portions which are peculiar to itself or found also in the other gospel. But this analysis is not critical and is utterly distinct from any theory as regards the origin of the gospel.

Yet it would be unjust to say that throughout his work the documentary hypothesis is altogether without influence upon the exegesis. Far more than in the case of Professor Gould, Professor Plummer constantly calls attention to possible critical explanations of various peculiarities in the style or in the arrangement of the gospels, but too often these suggestions are indistinct and there is at no point a vigorous handling of a critical question as an explanation of an exegetical. Thus, for example, in the case of those accounts which are apparently repetitions, as the two rejections at Nazareth, the cleansing of the temple and the feeding of the five thousand, so far as we can see whatever conclusions are reached in the volume might have been reached by a man who had no theory whatsoever as regards the original sources whence Luke derived his materials. Nor does the author even in such a matter as the possible explanation of Luke's transfer of the rejection at Nazareth to the beginning of the ministry have recourse to his critical position. The obvious reason is overlooked, namely,

that such a rejection explains why Jesus took up his abode in Capernaum. In fact throughout the entire gospel Professor Plummer prefers to explain parallelisms and repetitions by the assumption that Jesus actually repeated the sayings rather than to refer such repetitions to the use of a combination of different documents.

The great questions with which the interpreter and critic of the third gospel must deal are obviously: (1) The question of the infancy sections. (2) The question of the parallelisms in the sayings of Jesus in both Matthew and Luke. (3) The great addition of Luke (9:51—18:14), and (4) the Lukan account of the resurrection. Each one of these questions is primarily critical. Professor Plummer accepts the historicity of the infancy section, although he devotes to it but a portion of a page. He recognizes the account as it now stands as a combination of several original documents, but is inclined to believe that they were added by Luke himself, and very likely in a large measure derived from Mary. But he does not discuss the matter in any detail and thereby has considerably lessened the force of his opinion. As regards those sayings which are given by both Matthew and Luke Professor Plummer seems to hold practically the position of Sanday, namely, that Luke used the *Logia* and also a document entirely independent of the *Logia* which contained a discourse spoken on some other occasion, but which so resembled the Sermon on the Mount as to be identified with it by Luke. Such a conjecture is, of course, by no means an impossible one. It seems, however, much simpler to imagine that this independent document was another form of the Sermon contained in the *Logia*. Further than this the position of Professor Plummer seems very conservative in the entire relationship of Matthew and Luke, as he generally favors the theory of repetition on the part of Jesus rather than a duplication of accounts. In regard to the great interpolation of Luke the author holds that Luke was here employing material which was not used by either Mark or Matthew, of which we know neither source nor character. A great deal of it must have been either in writing or stereotyped in oral form and very probably was in large part translated by Luke from an Aramaic original—a position not open to serious objection, although we could have wished that the relation of this material to Matthew had been explained, especially where the two contain short sayings of the same import. As regards the question of the Lukan resurrection cycles, the treatment of our author is no more complete. The possibility that we have in Luke a later form of some of the stories in

Matthew and John seems hardly to have suggested itself. As to whether the manifestation to the eleven and the other disciples at Jerusalem (Luke 24: 23-43) was the same as John 20:19 Professor Plummer cannot decide.

On the whole, therefore, we must say that although there is not the same neglect of critical positions as in the case of Professor Gould's Mark, Professor Plummer has not ventured rigorously to apply his critical principles to the explanation of certain difficult points. If, strictly speaking, this is not the duty of the exegete, since this series is to be not merely exegetical but critical, it is a disappointment to find criticism so overlooked or, if present, so halting. The authoritative word upon the synoptics will not be spoken by one who hesitates at changes from traditional opinions.

When, however, we pass from critical processes to exegetical, we have far greater satisfaction. Professor Plummer's style is simple and when he chooses to commit himself is intelligible. The greatest criticism that can be passed upon the exegetical portion of the book as a whole is that of a certain encyclopædic tendency, which, although it presents the views of various commentators admirably, too seldom allows its possessor to commit himself to the one or the other. But it would be a mistake to suppose from this that Professor Plummer has not independent judgment and that when he finds himself upon sure ground he hesitates to express this judgment. No better illustration of the contrary could be found than his discussion of 6:35. Nothing could be more admirable, either, than his plunging into the heart of each paragraph and discussing its central thought. One feels constantly the author's determination to be free from preconceptions, even if it be necessary to leave a problem unsolved. We might perhaps differ with certain interpretations. Thus, in 6:20 it seems more likely that Jesus used in the striking beatitudes a sort of parabolic method of which the Matthew form is a mere interpretation rather than a bald literalness of language. He had some better message than the promise of food to hungry stomachs. Sometimes we are disappointed at finding no full discussion of important words. Indeed it must be said that throughout the book the strength of the author lies rather in logical exegesis than in word studies. He is apparently unaware of the existence of the works of Grimm and Thayer and Vincent. Even in the case of such words as *δικαιοῦν*, *ἀγαπάω* and *ἀγάπη* he gives no careful study, but is content to refer to such works as that of Trench. Once or twice a little additional infor-

mation on archæological lines might be of service. Thus in the case of the healing of the widow's son at Nain Professor Plummer neglects the distinction between the order of a funeral procession in Judea and in Galilee, although rightly saying that the mother would walk in front of the bier. In the interpretation of the exceedingly suggestive passage in chapter 7 he does not always catch the position of Jesus, and although it may be perfectly true that *καὶ* may have the force of "and yet" in verse 35 it is at least worthy of consideration whether or not Jesus meant here to speak with something like sarcasm.

But, after all, these strictures upon the book's exegesis are not serious. As a whole the exegetical work is done most admirably. It is marked by great learning and extreme common sense. One will look in vain for fanciful interpretations, for which Professor Plummer seems to have a wholesome contempt. The arrangement of the exegetical portion is also admirable and a distinct gain is made by the insertion of the brief lexical and critical observations in the smaller type. Altogether the book is, far and away the best commentary on Luke we yet have in English. The only regret is that Professor Plummer has not ventured to use his critical apparatus more vigorously. S. M.

**Acta Apostolorum sive Lucæ ad Theophilum liber alter secundum
formam quæ videtur Romanam edidit Fridericus Blass.
Lipsiæ inædibus B. G. Teubneri. 1896. Pp. xxxii+96.
M. 6.**

Whatever may be thought of the now famous theory of Professor Blass there can be no two opinions as to the interest and utility of this neatly printed and handy little volume. The existence of the so-called Roman text of Acts is indisputable; and the determination of its significance is a problem which all scholars feel to be pressing. A clear, accurate edition of this text is therefore well timed and ought to have a wide circulation. The chief authorities on which it is based are D and d, the readings from a manuscript similar to D inserted in the text and margin of the Harkleian revision of the Philoxenian Syriac, the Latin palimpsest Floriacensis referred to as f, the citations in Cyprian, and some passages in Augustine. Authorities of secondary importance but still of considerable value are 1371 designated by Blass as M, the Sahidic version, three Latin manuscripts, namely, the "gigas librorum" now in Stockholm, denoted as g; no. 321 of Paris, p;

and codex Wernigerodiensis w; and the Provençal translation made from the Latin in the thirteenth century and published in 1887. Some traces of the Roman text have been discovered even in the Peshitto and E e. Three of these authorities p, w, and the Provençal are additions to the list given in the commentary. The text is printed consecutively with critical notes at the foot of each page. The distinctive features of the Roman form are indicated by the following typographical expedients. Readings found in Greek authorities are printed with wider spacings between the letters. Readings not so supported are printed in larger and upright letters. Attention is thus readily called to Roman peculiarities, and in a general way to their source. These peculiarities are surprisingly numerous and many of them are very remarkable. Whilst all well-informed students are more or less familiar with the eccentricities (as they have been often regarded) of D, many will probably be amazed by their abundance and by the large amount of similar material found elsewhere. As to the significance of all this it cannot be denied that the "Roman text," as it appears in this book, produces the impression of a different edition of the work. If that theory of Dr. Blass is proved to be wrong the puzzling facts which he has so painstakingly collected and so clearly presented remain still to be accounted for, and cannot be disposed of merely by the assumption of exceptional carelessness on the part of copyists. Of course the learned editor is well aware that much of what is peculiar in D must be rejected as false, and he has inserted readings from this manuscript the accuracy of which he is not at all prepared to guarantee. And even some of the passages which are printed as Roman represent probability rather than conviction. "I have followed D and other witnesses," he writes, "so far as seemed to be legitimate, but I have indicated by widely spaced letters only those passages which I ascribed, or at least thought might be ascribed, to the Roman form; for there are some among these concerning which I can express no positive opinion but must leave the decision to the reader." These cautious observations must be duly noted if justice is to be done to Dr. Blass. The long preface is full of interest. It consists of: (1) an outline of the theory propounded in the commentary; (2) a reply to several critics including a smart rejoinder to Professor Ramsay; (3) some additional illustrations and remarks, some of which are very striking; (4) a review of the authorities. It would be premature to say that this volume demonstrates the truth of the theory but it unquestionably strengthens the argument for it very

considerably. In any case it is no slight advantage for the facts to be placed within the reach of all in so convenient a form.

W. TAYLOR SMITH.

Geschichte des Volkes Israel bis zur Restauration unter Esra und Nehemiah. Von AUGUST KLOSTERMANN. München : C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1896. 8vo, pp. ix+270.
\$4.50.

This book, the third notable work on the subject which has appeared in Germany during the last three years, is described in the preface as an attempt to enable students to distinguish for themselves between what can be known, what must be inferred, what may be provisionally assumed, and what is withdrawn from our observation. Its standpoint is clearly indicated in the following sentences: "It was just because the descendants of Jacob in Egypt had inherited from their fathers reminiscences and ideas of a monotheistic religion of Yahveh that Yahveh through Moses constituted them a national church of that religion" (28). "The religion of Israel is not the flower of its national civilization but its root" (52). "If Kadesh was through a long period the recognized seat of the divine oracle for the Israelitish tribes and therefore of the highest court of appeal; if it was in Kadesh that the disorganization of the Sinaitic covenant people and its reorganization were effected, then the primitive view, according to which both the writing down of the law and the liturgical regulations and arrangements referring to the central sanctuary had their beginning during the life in the wilderness, appears to be natural and credible" (66). These opinions distinctly proclaim Dr. Klostermann a disciple of Dillmann rather than of Wellhausen. Nevertheless he is advanced enough on many subordinate points, such as the following: Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are for him not merely the names of three individuals but also symbols of three stages in the development of a process of migration and settlement extending over more than two centuries. Those who crossed the Red Sea with Moses need not be thought of as the whole body of Israelites who left Egypt. It may be assumed that many reached Sinai, which had been agreed on as the meeting place in other ways. It is regarded as certain that the spring of that year was a period of unusual electrical phenomena and discharges.

Israelitish history which is preceded by a rapid survey of the

previous history is arranged in four periods: (1) from the sojourn in Egypt to the settlement in Canaan; (2) from that settlement to the death of Solomon; (3) from the accession of Rehoboam to the exile: (4) the restoration.

The book is crowded with useful matter, but is unpleasantly written. Dr. Klostermann's style is neither simple like Kittel's nor brilliant like Wellhausen's. His cumbrous sentences need, in some instances, to be read over twice or even thrice for the meaning to be fully grasped. Those, however, who are not repelled by the uncouthness of the form will find many a choice thought and many a striking suggestion. Now and then we meet with something like a clearly cut aphorism. One of the best, which may appropriately close this notice, occurs in the preface: "The Bible abides: scientific attempts to sketch the history of the Bible come and go."

W. TAYLOR SMITH.

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Christianity and Infidelity. The White Hall Discussion. Between Rev. J. J. Porter, A. M., and J. R. Charlesworth. (Bloomington, Ill.: Pantagraph Printing and Stationery Co., 1895, pp. 239.) Paper, \$0.85; cloth, \$1.25.

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The Point of Contact in Teaching. By Patterson Du Bois. (Philadelphia: John D. Wattles & Co., 1897, pp. 88.) \$0.60.

Lines for Endeavorers to Learn and to Teach. Selected and arranged by Emma Halsey Huntting. (New York: Authors' Publishing Association, pp. 83.) \$0.35.

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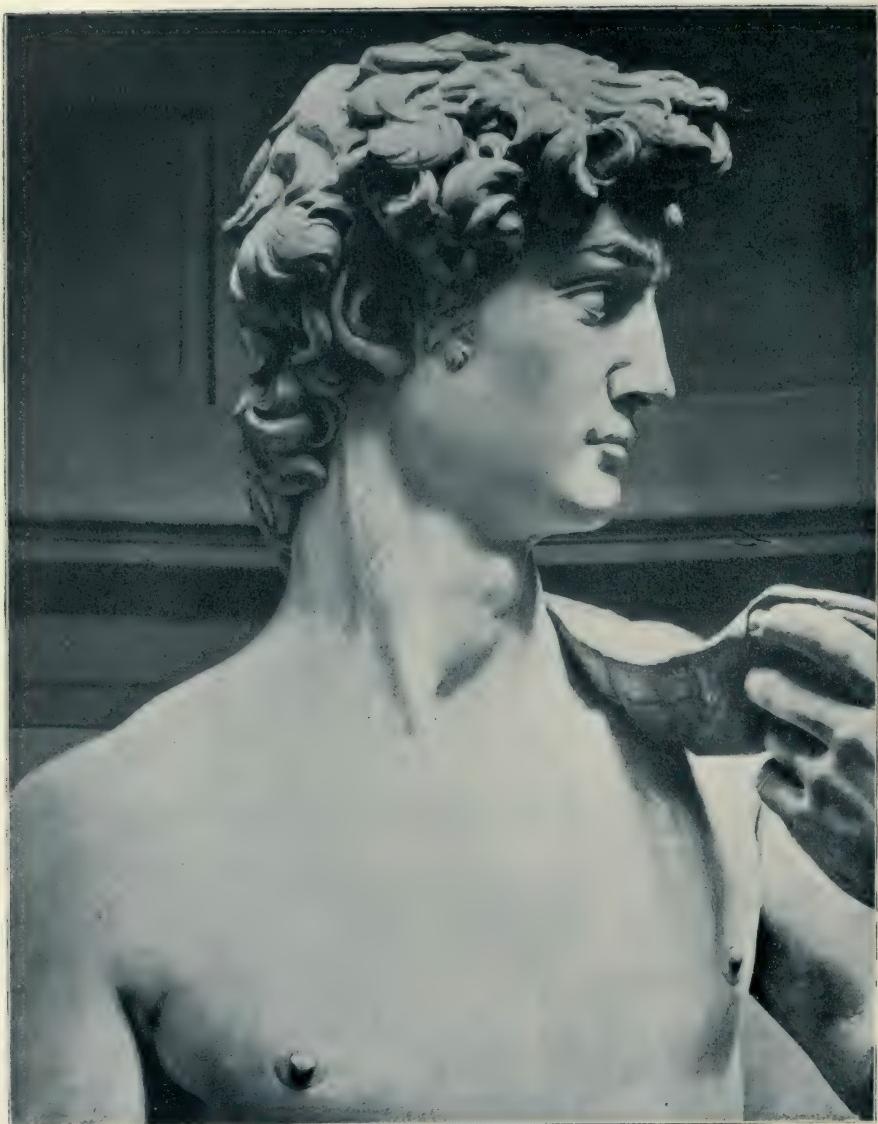
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THERE are undoubtedly in the ministry today a good many men who, while they thoroughly believe in Christ and Christianity, and accept the Bible as in a very true sense the Word of God, are nevertheless in a certain degree of perplexity concerning the precise content and basis of the theology which they are to preach. As respects the causes of this perplexity it is sufficient

PERPLEXITY CONCERNING THE BASIS OF THEOLOGY for our present purpose simply to name two. In the first place, systematic theologians of today are speaking with a less confident tone than was used by them and their predecessors a decade or two ago. Not only have changes taken place in the details of instruction, but there is a notable tendency to reëxamine the whole question of the sources of theology and the criteria for determining the value of their testimony. In the second place, biblical science inclines more and more to recognize the progressive character of biblical revelation. But this recognition carries with it the necessity that the contribution of the Bible to theology shall be received not direct from exegesis, but from a broad and discerning biblical theology, which having studied the history of revelation is able to interpret each part, and to state its final testimony, in the light of this history of the whole. With an old theology forsaken in part by its own teachers, and with an interrogation set against the former method of constructing theology, the question has inevitably been raised in

some minds, How am I to determine what my message today is to be?

The question thus raised by the progress of investigation and thought is not one to be answered in a word. Nor do we propose to undertake here a full and adequate answer. We venture only a few suggestions.

*THE PREACHER'S
NEED OF A
THEOLOGY*

Let it be recognized at the outset that the demand for a working theology is a legitimate and an imperative one. The preacher must have convictions, and he must have substantial reasons for holding them. These convictions need not necessarily constitute a complete and coördinated system. But a theology, in the sense of a body of convictions concerning God and man and the way of salvation, the preacher must have. Else he has no message.

But what must be the character of the preacher's working theology? If we mistake not, its essential characteristics are three in number. First, it must be the nearest approach to truth on the matters with which it deals which the preacher himself is able to attain.

*CHARACTERISTICS
OF A WORKING
THEOLOGY*

To make the conscious attainment of absolute truth on all those themes which enter even into an ordinary preacher's working theology—this would be to seal the mouths of all preachers. Such attainment is too high for mortal man. But truth must be his ideal, and with nothing less than the nearest possible approach to truth can he be content. To rest satisfied with anything else is not only to be unfaithful to the truth; it is, in fact, to be untruthful, since it involves affirming that which the preacher does not himself sincerely and heartily believe. To preach that of which one has no well-defined conviction, to substitute an enforced or a hasty and unthinking acceptance of doctrines put forth by others for a whole-hearted allegiance to truth and a sincere effort to attain the clearest and truest possible view of truth, cannot fail to produce degeneration in the moral life of the preacher himself and in the end to destroy his influence for good over his hearers.

In the second place, the preacher's theology must be such as contributes to his own spiritual development. All truth is morally healthful if received in the love of it, but not all truth is equally conducive to spiritual development. The preacher's theology ought to make prominent and emphatic those truths which have the most direct bearing and the most healthful influence on the spiritual life; and if it does it will tend to the elevation of his own religious life.

In the third place, the preacher's theology ought to be such that it can be preached, and being preached can win acceptance and bring men to God. This is not to say that it must conform to the spirit of the time, or please itching ears, but that it must be such that it will appeal to that which is deepest in man, command assent in sincere minds, and shed light upon the path that leads men to God. However ancient it may be, if it cannot do these things, it is not a usable theology. Either the error in it prevents its securing the assent of the human mind, or its proportion and emphasis so distort the truth as to rob it of its power, or there is such fault of statement that it fails to be understood; in any case it fails of its purpose and needs revision.

How can a usable and effective theology be obtained? What light has the Bible itself to throw upon this problem?

THE PROPHETIC PREACHING

Consider the example of the Old Testament prophets. None of them presents a well-rounded and harmonious system of doctrine. In the case of some of them, where sufficient records of their preaching remain, there can be traced a growth in their apprehension of truth, crises in their experience, in which new views appear presenting startling variations from those which they have formerly held. Two things are essential with them: first, firm confidence in Jehovah, in his righteousness, in his eternal purpose of good; and, second, the interpretation of their own times, the divine purpose in the events of their own day, given in the light of their trust in Jehovah. In some cases it is clear that their own experience supplies them with principles by

which to interpret the divine healing. It was Hosea's enduring love that revealed to him the everlasting mercy and yearning affection of Jehovah for his people. These prophets were not seeking a consistent doctrinal system. Positive theological propositions are few in their writings, but they preached what they saw, what they felt, what God made known to them through their own lives and through the history of their nation. Thus faithful in that which was near them, they were given to see larger and more distant truths, not visible to those whose devotion to their Lord was feeble and inconstant.

Consider, again, the example of the early preachers of Christianity. None of them, with the possible exception of the apostle Paul, gives evidence of possessing anything like a system of theological truth. They held certain strong convictions based on their own experience and reflection. Some of them, such as the Twelve, had come into personal contact with Jesus, had received the impress of his mighty personality, were witnesses of his resurrection. The convictions respecting God and Christ and the way of salvation to which these experiences gave birth, these they preached fearlessly and effectively. Others accepted the testimony of these respecting the life and teachings and resurrection of Jesus, added this to their own previous experience, and verified the result by new experience. Their preaching, as in the case of Stephen, bears the marks of the process by which it was produced. Even the theology of Paul, though he held, or came to hold, a fuller system of truth than perhaps any other Christian man of his day, owes its distinctive features to the specific character of his experience. It is scarcely conceivable that it should have been the product of reflection, however profound, working simply upon the basis of the Old Testament Scriptures and the life and teaching of Jesus viewed objectively, out of relation to his own experience. The types of thinking which appear among the earliest preachers of the gospel owe their specific and differentiating characteristics to the diversity of experience out of which they sprang.

*THE
APOSTOLIC
PREACHING*

Shall we appeal to the example of Jesus also? To what extent his preaching was rooted in his own experience, or how far, in view of the vast difference between his experience and ours, we are justified in following his example in this respect, we need not discuss.

THE
EXAMPLE
OF JESUS

In one respect, at least, his conduct may be taken as a safe guide. If we study the gospels, especially the gospel of Mark, which of all our gospels probably comes nearest to giving us the events of Jesus' life in their order, and so most nearly reflects his method of carrying forward his work as a preacher of the gospel, we see that Jesus did not begin his work by the announcement of certain propositions concerning himself and his mission, which he made it his business to prove by argument, and the acceptance of which he demanded of men. He taught fundamental truths, and lived a life which incarnated those truths and bore the necessary testimony concerning himself. When this life had made its impression on receptive minds, he called forth that impression into explicit confession; and straightway began to teach them new lessons, in words, to be sure, but still more in deeds. His example is doubly instructive. The modern preacher can never learn too thoroughly that the great power of his preaching is in the life by which he accompanies it. Nor can he learn too thoroughly that his most effective preaching consists not in argument designed to prove certain theological propositions concerning God or Christ, but in the true presentation of the God-revealing Christ himself. Jesus chose as his apostles men whose theology would have fallen short of the brief Apostles' Creed, to say nothing of the more elaborate confessions of faith. They had come into contact with the personality of Jesus, and their acceptance of him—not of propositions about him; few of these had yet been announced—was the evidence and the security of a new moral life on their part. The preacher who questions what to preach cannot err in bringing his own life into the closest possible contact with that of Jesus—that Jesus who is presented in the gospels, who became a living power in the lives of his followers in the first age, and is a living power in the lives of his followers

today. He cannot err in presenting Christ as he appears in the gospels, as he knows him in his own life, and as he sees his power in the lives of men and in the history of the church. Such contact with Christ will yield him, if not a symmetrical system of theology, what is much better for his purpose, a body of convictions at once intelligently and firmly held, and preëminently adapted to be preached; and such preaching will produce in the lives of others the same effects which it yields in his.

Those who, having been taught, or having wrought out for themselves, a body of divinity dealing with all the great problems of theology and solving them, are satisfied *WHAT SHALL BE OUR METHOD?* with it, and content to go on preaching it, need no word of help. To those who, though they may not possess a symmetrical system of thought, the product of investigation and reflection, yet covet a few great truths which they can hold with all the firmness of profound conviction and preach with confidence and power, we venture to make these suggestions, not as solving their whole problem, but as indicating the direction of its solution. Draw abundantly for your preaching from the life of Jesus, his deeds and his teachings. Preach the things you believe, the great truths that have taken possession of your heart and mind, as in ancient times the prophets were mastered by the few great truths they saw. Increase your store of truth by contact with the greatest moral masters of the ages, above all with Jesus Christ, and forge truth into conviction by personal experience and a study of the experience of the world.

ELEMENTS OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE ATONEMENT IN THE FACTS OF OUR LORD'S SUFFERINGS.

By PROFESSOR JAS. S. CANDLISH, D.D.,
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ONE of the most prominent characteristics of the religious thought of the present day is the impatience of mere abstract theories or dogmas, and the demand that what are to be received as truths in theology be shown to be founded on actual, verifiable facts, and to be the legitimate interpretation, or necessary presupposition, of such facts. In former times a doctrine might be accepted if it were only shown to be taught by ecclesiastical tradition or in Holy Scripture, even though it were of an entirely transcendental nature, unconnected with human history and experience; but the modern mind looks upon all such propositions as of little use, if not open to suspicion, and craves to be shown that theological doctrines are expressive of realities; so the doctrine of original sin is acceptable, when shown to be a case of the verified law of heredity; the necessity of the new birth seems reasonable in the light of biogenesis, and so on. On the whole, this tendency is healthful and good; it is expressive of the desire for reality and the determination not to be satisfied with empty forms and phrases. Yet it has its dangers, and may be pushed too far. For we are not entitled to assume that we are able to understand the reality that underlies all that God has made known to us, or that there may not be truths in his Word which it concerns us to know and believe, but which we cannot fully verify in facts. That even the most transcendent doctrines of revelation are the expression of realities, and not of mere notions, we may well believe, but possibly the realities may be beyond our ken; and we may have to accept the statements of the inspired apostles and prophets, though we

cannot show them to be verified by the facts within our knowledge. There is a tendency to reject or to ignore such statements which is practically to refuse to be disciples of the apostles; and in regard especially to the meaning and purpose of the death of our Lord inadequate views have been adopted by many because, in the laudable desire to make this great doctrine a reality, they have not taken into account any declarations of Scripture which they could not see to be implied in the historical facts. I think this is a mistake, but at the same time I admit that we ought to be more cautious in the use we make, in systematizing, of those inspired statements which we cannot verify by facts; and therefore I propose to consider how far we can go in verifying the doctrine of the atonement by means of the facts of our Lord's life and death. I assume the substantial truth of the gospel narratives, and look at them as giving the history of the events; and as to the doctrine, I am content to take it as expressed in the Westminster Catechism: "Christ executes the office of a priest in his once offering himself a sacrifice to satisfy divine justice and reconcile us to God, and in his making continual intercession for us." The former clause is that which concerns us here, and we ask: How much of this doctrine can be gathered from the history?

I. One essential element of the doctrine is, that Christ gave up his life by a perfectly free act of his own will. This is proved by the emphatic way in which he is recorded to have said, "The Son of Man came to give his life,"¹ "I lay down my life of myself I have power to lay it down,"² and by the apostles' saying, "He gave himself," "He offered himself," etc., his death is presented to us, not as a mere suffering which he patiently endured, and by which his work was brought to an end, but as an action which is part of his work, and indeed the crown and consummation of it. The passages just referred to are not to be limited to his suffering and death, but include his whole work and life on earth, though they have doubtless a special reference to his cross.

¹ Matt. 20:28; Mark 10:45.

² John 10:15, 17, 18.

Now that the death of Jesus had this peculiar character is shown by historical facts. Viewed as an event in history the causes that brought it about were the opposition of the Jewish priesthood to his teaching and claims, acting on the prejudices and passions of the people. Jesus would not withdraw his declaration that he is the Messiah, the Son of God, and he died as a martyr to that testimony. But when we consider the circumstances preceding his trial and death we shall see that he might have escaped without being false to his testimony. His life had often been in danger before on similar accounts, but he had always previously avoided the danger. Sometimes the impression of his words, or the favor of the common people, had prevented his enemies from laying hands on him; sometimes he had withdrawn and hid himself. This was according to the principle he laid down for his disciples, not to court persecution, but "when they persecute you in one city flee to another." Thus, even after Judas had resolved to betray him, Jesus took careful means to secure that the traitor should not know where he meant to keep the passover, and so not be able to interrupt the last supper.¹ But from that time on it was different. Instead of retiring to some spot where he would be hidden, he went to the garden that Judas knew well, and when the traitor came with the band to take him he at once gave himself up.² In the narration of this there are indications of the supernatural aid and power he might have used for his escape,³ but even without the consideration of these the historical circumstances show that Jesus could have avoided being taken, but that by his own free act he gave himself up to be condemned and suffer death. His whole purpose, in steadfastly setting his face to go up to Jerusalem at that feast, shows the same thing. He had avoided Judea before, even at feast times, and he seems to have been safe in Galilee, and certainly he would have been safe in neighboring Gentile lands. He was not, therefore, exactly in the position of a martyr who cannot possibly escape death except by being unfaithful to truth; he

¹See especially Luke 22:7-16.

³Matt. 26:53; John 18:6.

²John 18:2-11.

might have saved his life without any such denial; but he so acted as to give himself up to death. This it was that caused such dismay to his disciples that they all forsook him and fled. They were ready to fight for him had he permitted them, but his unresisting surrender to his enemies seems to have taken them by surprise. They had failed to understand or take in the many hints, or even plain statements, in which he had foretold his condemnation and death, and spoken of his own act in giving his life, and therefore they were utterly perplexed and shaken in faith.

II. A second element in the doctrine, that appears from properly historical evidence, is that Jesus gave up his life out of regard to God his Father, and obedience to his will. He did not give way to circumstances, or yield to the opposition and power of his enemies, nor yet did he submit to any mere abstract considerations of duty, but directly to the personal will of God. As this statement has reference to the views and purposes of Jesus, it can be proved only by his own recorded sayings, and not by any mere external events; but his expressions on the subject presented in the gospels are numerous, and clear enough to prove this, as truly as the intention of any person in history can be proved by his utterances. It was to his Father's will, giving him the cup to drink from which he so shrank, that he gave up his own will.¹ He spoke of the commandment which he had received from his Father,² of his going to his death because he loved his Father and did as he gave him commandment.³ He indicates that this will of God was made known to him through the Scriptures, for when he declared that he could pray to the Father and he would give him twelve legions of angels he added, "but how then should the Scriptures be fulfilled that thus it should be?"⁴ He recognized God's authority in the power by which he was put to death, for when Pilate said, "Knowest thou not that I have power to crucify thee and have power to release thee?" he replied, "Thou couldst have no power at all against me except it were given thee from above."⁵ By this he meant not

¹ Matt. 26:42; Mark 14:36; Luke 22:42.

³ John 14:31.

² John 10:18.

⁴ Matt. 26:54.

⁵ John 19:10, 11.

merely the general providence of God, but that as a magistrate Pilate's authority was given by God, and Caiaphas had the greater guilt in using the divine institution of magistracy for his wicked purpose.

The numerous and various utterances, all of them consistent, make out, as a matter of historical fact, that it was out of regard to the will of God, conveyed to him through his Word, that Jesus, by a free and spontaneous act, gave himself up to suffer and to die at the hands of the authority that bore the sword for God. He not only gave himself, but gave himself to God, in an act of religious obedience and submission. He offered himself to God; and by reason of this his voluntary act of yielding himself to death has the character of a sacrifice, in the wide and general sense of that term, *corban*, a gift or act of homage, brought near to God in religious worship. In this respect his death is of a piece with his whole life, and is simply the consummation and crown of it. For it is an historical fact that the whole career of Jesus was ruled by the principle of self-denying obedience to the will of God, and was the doing a work which he recognized that his Father had given him to do. That work consisted, indeed, in the deliverance of men from sin and suffering; but it was felt and shown by Jesus to be no less truly for God than for men. It was a work on which God's heart was set, the fulfilment of which not only manifested his glory, but caused him joy in the presence of the angels; and Jesus ever acted as fully conscious of this aspect of his work; he was jealous for the holiness of God's house, the purity of his worship, the authority of his law, the manifestation of his love; his whole life was a service of God. This feature distinguishes his work from that of Confucius, Buddha, and Zoroaster, who labored, according to their light, for the teaching and elevation of their fellows; as on the other hand his living for the salvation of man distinguishes Jesus from Mahomet, who had a zeal for God but little love to man.

Now if his freely giving himself up to death was an integral part of his work, it also is shown as an historical fact to have a bearing towards God and to be an act of service rendered to him.

Herein lies a great part of the value of Jesus' death. Its value lay in its moral character, not in the mere metaphysical greatness of his person, or in the intensity of his sufferings, but in the meekness, the patience, the love and forgiveness, in which it was undergone; and preëminent among the moral qualities that make the cross of Christ precious are the love to God, resignation to his will, devotion to his work, and faith in his Word in which our Saviour endured the cross. Because in perfect and infinite love he gave himself for us to God, his is an offering and a sacrifice of a sweet-smelling savor.

III. But it further appears from the facts of history that Jesus endured a mysterious suffering at the hand of God, which he felt to be the bitterest element in what he had to suffer. No otherwise can we account for the agony in the garden, the soul trouble in the temple,¹ and the cry of desertion on the cross, without making Jesus to have shown less fortitude and courage than many of the martyrs, not only among his own followers, but others also. But it is equally evident from the history that this cannot be the explanation; it must have been that he suffered more intensely in spirit, or felt more keenly the bitterness of what came upon him than any other ever did. His was a soul keenly sensitive to moral pain, and the ingratitude of his people, the treachery of his betrayer, the cowardice of his disciples, the hypocrisy of his accusers, the profane ribaldry of his mockers, wounded him more deeply than any bodily agony. But besides it is the fact that he felt the hand of God upon him. It was to his Father that he prayed that the cup might pass from him, and he calls it the cup which my Father has given me;² he quotes the prophecy of Zechariah, "I will smite the shepherd,"³ etc., and he cries, "My God, why hast thou forsaken me?"⁴ I do not think that we are warranted in inferring from these several sayings any special infliction of suffering distinct from and additional to what we know he endured; but they do certainly show that he recognized God's hand in them, not merely permitting them, but having positively appointed them.

¹ John 12:27.

³ Matt. 26:31.

² John 18:11.

⁴ Matt. 27:46; Mark 15:34.

Jesus, too, did not rejoice in these tribulations, as his apostles did and exhorted their brethren to do. They recognized that tribulation worked in them patience and assurance of their Christian character and helped to make them partakers of God's holiness; but Jesus never acknowledged any sin that would have to be purged away by suffering; he declared indeed that he was to pass by suffering into his glory, but it was the glory of not abiding alone but bearing much fruit, and drawing all men to him out of the service and dominion of the prince of this world.

To the question, Why did he suffer? the answer must undoubtedly be, not because of any sin of his own, but for the salvation of men. Since his suffering was felt by him as coming from the hand of God, there must have been something on the part of God that stood in the way of man's salvation and could not otherwise be removed. Were it merely to show us an example of perfect holiness tried to the uttermost, of meekness and patience under the extrekest suffering and wrong, or to win us from the love of sin by exposing it in all its loathsomeness, and by revealing the love of God suffering to the death from the sin of the world; this mysterious, yet truly real, element of divine appointment and infliction of the suffering would be unmeaning and out of place. To all merely subjective theories of atonement this element must prove a stumbling block that cannot be got over, and yet, according to all the narratives, it is an historical fact.

It appears also from the history that Jesus felt very specially the shame of being treated as a criminal, and looked upon this as not a mere accident in his sufferings, but as a divine appointment. His condemnation was unjust, but it was by the authorities invested by God with the right to punish wrong with death; and it was ordained that the Servant of Jehovah should suffer so. At the last supper Jesus said: "This that is written must be fulfilled in me, And he was numbered with the transgressors."¹ When he was taken he said: "Are ye come out as against a robber?" "But this is your hour and the power of darkness,"² as if to intimate that the power to employ such legal force was

¹ Luke 22:37; Matt. 26:56.

² Matt. 26:55; Mark 14:48; Luke 22:52, 53.

granted them at that critical hour. More especially in his words to the women of Jerusalem who came to lament for him (Luke 23:28-31) he puts his own suffering on a level with those that were to come as a judgment from God on the guilty people, and exclaims: "If they do these things in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry?" These words contain an allusion to Ezek. 20:47, where the divine judgment on Jerusalem is described as a fire consuming every green tree "and every dry tree;" and in the explanation that follows (21:3), that is said to be "the sword cutting off the righteous and the wicked." Jesus is the righteous, the green tree; but he is suffering, at the hand of God, the judgment against the wicked.

Jesus, as we saw before, freely gave up his life to God, and now we perceive also that it was to God as the righteous judge of all the earth, whose truth is revealed against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men. He the righteous one suffered what men had deserved as sinners, and what made the suffering especially bitter to him was, that it was the expression of God's holy displeasure and righteous judgment against the sin of the race, with which he, by becoming man, had made himself one.

Does not this bear out historically the view that Paul gives when he makes the essence of Christ's redeeming us from the curse of the law to be his becoming a curse for us by hanging on a tree, and again says "God made him who knew no sin to be sin for us"? It does not, I think, warrant the phrase used in the Westminster Catechisms, though not in the Confession, "the wrath of God," unless that is taken as simply equivalent to, and explained by, "the cursed death of the cross." But in Scripture the wrath of God seems always to denote his actual feeling of holy indignation against real personal sin and ill-deserving, and not merely the infliction of punishment, as the phrase was understood by many to mean. In the latter sense we can see how it might be used of Christ's suffering, since undoubtedly he has, according to the will and appointment of God, pain and sorrow in consequence of the sin of men. But if the wrath of God means, as I think it does, not merely the infliction of suffering, but the personal displeasure of the Holy One at moral evil, we

cannot conceive of Jesus the sinless one being the object of that. Nowhere, either, is it directly said in Scripture that he bore the wrath of God, and in this most mysterious and sacred subject it is wisest and most reverent to keep as closely as possible to the words, as well as to the substance, of what is revealed. We must indeed not merely repeat Bible expressions by rote, but seek to apprehend their meaning, and neither extenuate nor exaggerate it; but we do well to abstain here from inferential reasoning, even such as may be legitimate enough on other subjects.

In regard to the cry "Why hast thou forsaken me?" I think it must be taken as expressing a truth, and not merely a feeling wrung from our Saviour by agony, but having no reality corresponding to it. That Jesus, even for a moment in the darkest hour, had a false and unworthy idea of his Father, and gave open utterance to it, seems to me inconsistent with his whole character and life and with his other utterances from the cross. The desertion of which he speaks must be something not merely fancied, but intensely real. Nor can it be explained as simply his abandonment to the power of his enemies. If that were so, we should expect the cry to be uttered before, not during, the darkness that came over all the land. It was before that, when Jesus was hanging on the cross, as an outcast from earth, reviled and mocked by the priests, the people, the soldiers, and even the crucified malefactor, and when heaven gave no sign of sympathy with him or of displeasure at his persecutors, it was then that naturally the sufferer would feel most as if forsaken by God. The mysterious darkness, shrouding his sufferings from view, and striking the bystanders with surprise and awe, would rather seem an interposition of God on his behalf; nature would appear to be sympathizing with the Crucified, or expressing horror at the deed. Yet it was out of that darkness that the mournful cry came. God was hiding his face from him; and the question "Why?" was a protest that there was nothing in him to deserve or account for such dealing. Doubtless it was immediately answered by the assurance that his blood was shed for many for the remission of sins. We cannot explain or conceive how the holy and loving God can hide his face

from his holy and righteous servant; nor can we ever understand what soul-suffering that involved to the perfectly holy Son of God. Only we may believe that as he had become one of us, and felt the shame and curse of our sins come on him, he would not come to his God except as the head of a sinful race, responsible for all its sins; He who is of purer eyes than to behold evil, and cannot look on iniquity, could not look on him "in whom he saw the sin of the world until, the sacrifice having been finished, he could look with double good pleasure on him, and on us in him.

This is no doubt an explanation of our Lord's words that goes beyond the actual historical fact, and is only hypothetical; but the fact itself proves that there was something mysterious about his experiences on the cross, a suffering that must remain unknown and inconceivable to us, and that cannot be accounted for on any theory of mere martyrdom, or sympathy, or example.

In this sort of hypothetical way it may be said that the facts of his history bear out the Confessional statement of the purpose of Christ's sacrifice, "to satisfy divine justice and reconcile us to God," but I would not claim that they strictly and properly prove it. But, indeed, as that statement meets the purpose in God's and in Christ's mind; it is hard to see how it could be proved by mere historical events, or otherwise than by declaration coming from Christ. Now in regard to the purpose of reconciling us to God, we have recorded statements by Jesus himself, that his blood was that of a covenant shed for many unto the remission of sins; that he came to save, and give his life a ransom for many; that he was to give his flesh for the life of the world; to give his life for his sheep, in order that they might have life. When we consider these sayings, and the fact that Jesus offered forgiveness of sins to those who believed on him, and has brought the most guilty near to God in filial confidence, may we not say that it is an historical fact that he once offered himself a sacrifice to reconcile us to God?

The clause "to satisfy divine justice" is I think the only one in the doctrinal statement that is not borne out by historical

facts, if we take into account the sayings of our Saviour, not only during his suffering but in his previous ministry. But he made no direct reference to the justice of God in this connection, although his recognition of the hand of God, and the comparison of the green tree and the dry, almost inevitably suggest the thought of it, and make Paul's statement that God set him forth as a propitiation to declare his righteousness in passing over sins and justifying the believer, a very near and obvious inference. This element of doctrine, however, must rest on apostolic authority, and no doubt the technical use of the term "satisfy" in this connection is post-apostolic; as also are the more precise definitions of justice contained in various theories of the atonement.

It cannot, therefore, be said that all the elements of the ecclesiastical, or even of the apostolic, doctrine of the atonement can be found in the facts of our Lord's sufferings; but I think the most essential of them do rest on this solid foundation of history. To these, however, the light of revelation, Christian reflection, enables us to add three great groups of thought. One includes all the positive elements of the subjective or moral-influence theories, the effect of Christ's death as a martyrdom, as an example, and as a soul-winning revelation of God's pity and love for men and hatred of sin; another comprehends those mystical views of the spiritual and vital union of Christ with the race, and of believers with Christ, that form the basis of Paul's moral teaching; and a third embraces those high considerations of the claims of God's eternal justice and universal government that have formed so large a place in protestant theology. All these groups of ideas have, I believe, elements of truth in them, though they have often been presented in one-sided and extreme forms. For an adequate presentation of the great and many-sided reality, all need to be recognized in their own place; and this may best be done on the foundation of those more essential elements that may be drawn from the historical facts. These give us an assurance that in this whole inquiry we are not occupying ourselves with mere baseless speculations, but with that great and precious reality that forms the ground of our religious faith and hope.

ATTITUDES OF WORSHIP IN GREECE.

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THE study of attitudes and gestures in connection with religious worship has an interest more than of mere curiosity. The forms of worship in a developed religion are complex, the outcome of a long process of development, so that their religious meaning does not appear on the surface. The attitude of worship, although by no means uninfluenced by habit, is a comparatively spontaneous act on the part of the worshiper; and after one has compared the attitudes of the worshiper with the attitudes assumed before superior human beings, he has some direct evidence as to the worshiper's attitude of *mind* before his god. In Egypt, for instance, the monuments show servants bowing very low, and even prostrate on the ground before their masters; the prostration of men before the gods only appears on a few late monuments. The ordinary attitude of worship is standing with one or both hands raised; though men also knelt before the gods, as they knelt before superior men. The kiss was a very old form of worship (1 Kings 19:18), expressing like the lifted hand the desire to enter into intimate communion with the god. Hezekiah in a time of extreme need falls on his face before Jehovah, to indicate his weakness and his need of help; but ordinarily the Hebrews stood before Jehovah, when they looked up to him in worship; so the publican in the parable of Jesus stands, though he will not so much as lift up his eyes to heaven. In a painting that has been repeated in a favorite photograph, the young Samuel is represented in an act of devotion; he kneels and holds up before him his hands placed palm to palm. This is the attitude of worship very commonly represented on reliefs in the temple sculpture of India; in Christian art the combination of kneeling with the hands raised in this

manner is not so common. In the early Christian church the common attitude of prayer was to hold out the arms with the hands open as though to receive something from heaven. In the time of Constantine this was modified so as to imitate the position of Jesus on the cross—the arms extended straight from the shoulder.¹ Later the arms were crossed, and finally the hands were folded in token of humility. Today in some churches men kneel in prayer; in others they bow the head and cover the eyes; our fathers used to stand and cover the face with the hat.

I add a partial list of the attitudes of the body that express some religious sentiments in worship:

Communion.—(Kiss; embrace of sacred symbol.) Hand on altar or on the animal to be sacrificed. Hand raised toward God.

Devotion.—(Imitation, *e. g.*, of Christ on the cross.) Hands raised to God. Hands clasped, or open palms together. Arms folded.

Humility.—Prostration. Kneeling. Bowed head (*Luke 18:13*). Hands lowered and clasped.

Supplication.—(Prostration; kneeling.) Hands held out to lay hold on God. Hands held out with palms up as if to receive something from God.

This glance at the general question is sufficient, I think, to prove that the attitude of the body assumed in worship is an important indication of the religious sentiment which the worshiper would express. I propose now to examine the record of attitudes of worship in Greece with the expectation that it will shed some light on the religious feelings of the Greek; and I hope that the method will be sufficiently fruitful to encourage similar studies in the case of other religions.²

When in Homer one man brought an earnest request to a superior, the poet represents him as taking hold of the knees (the legs below the knees), or of knees and beard. Of course

¹ TERTULLIAN, *De Orat.*, c. 14: *Nos vero non attollimus tantum (manus), sed etiam expandimus et dominicam passionem modulantes et orantes confitemur Christo.*

² Literature: BÖTTIGER, *Kunstmyth.*, I, S. 51 ff.; *Kl. Schr.*, II, S. 354. HERMANN, *Gottesd. Alt.*, § 21, A. 10, with references there to RECHENBERG and LEVEZOW. VOUILLEMÈ, *Quomodo veteres adoraverint*. Halle, 1887.

this gesture involves a sitting or kneeling posture, an attitude of humility before the person besought. So the verbs *γοννάζομαι*, *γοννώμαι* regularly mean to beseech or supplicate. The monuments, however, do not represent this as the ordinary method of supplication, but picture the suppliant as extending his hands toward the person of whom favor is sought. For instance, women threatened with death (often kneel and) extend their arms in supplication to their assailant; or a woman raises her arms in horror and supplication at the slaying of a husband or a son. The palms turn toward the person besought, as though to lay hold of him.

When men seek help from the gods, they turn toward the place where the gods are. Commonly they look up to heaven, and lift the hands to heaven; or where the worshiper is represented on a relief with the god, he looks toward the god as he might look toward the temple image. Achilles praying to his mother, a goddess of the sea, extended his arms out toward the water.¹ In praying to the gods below, as when Hades and Persephone are invoked to fulfil a curse,² the suppliant kneels and knocks on the surface of the earth with his hand to attract attention.

The two primary attitudes of supplication to the gods correspond to the attitudes of supplication addressed to men, and the meaning is the same whether favor is sought from gods or men. In two passages in the Greek drama the word *προσπίπτω* is used with *βρέτη* to mean in the first instance to supplicate, in the second, to fall down before, the images of the gods.³ In neither instance, however, does the phrase refer to normal Greek practice. Plutarch (*De Superst.* 3) mentions prostrations on the face before the god in a list of superstitious religious practices of foreign origin. The normal Greek practice is apparently that represented on so many of the earlier monuments where a suppliant kneels or sits before the image of the god and embraces it. In historic times the suppliant seeking an asylum

¹ *Iliad*, A. 351; imitated by VERGIL, *Aen.*, V, 233, *palmas ponto tendens utrasque*.

² *Iliad*, I. 568; *Hymn. Apoll.*, 333.

³ *Æsch.*, *Sept. Theb.*, 93; *ARIST.*, *Equit.*, 31.

merely had to touch some part of the temple or the altar (*e. g.*, Hdt. VI, 91), when he had the protection of the god. In earlier times he knelt and grasped the image, or the altar, or whatever sacred object he could reach. The meaning of the act was an



FIG. I.—SUPPLIANTS LAYING HOLD OF THE IMAGE OF THE GODDESS.

effort to get the attention of the god and to secure an intimate relation with him, and at the same time to show such humility as not to provoke his anger. By obtaining the protection of the god he gained what was later interpreted as the sacred right of asylum. Before a man the idea of humiliation in this act often appears; but the conception that a god delights in the self-humiliation of man—as a master may delight in the self-humiliation of his servants—did not take root in Greek religion.

The common attitude of supplication, even in time of extreme need, is standing before the god and holding up the arms with the palms outward. The most familiar example of this attitude is the “praying boy,” the famous bronze now in the Berlin Museum; although the arms of this statue have been shown to be modern French work, and the position of the hands—open as though to receive something from heaven—represents an early Christian

attitude of worship. In Greek reliefs and paintings the arms are raised in supplication, as indeed they were originally in this bronze; commonly, however, they are not raised so high, and the palms are turned fully in the direction in which the suppliant looks, *i. e.*, outward toward the god. The person seems to be reaching out as though to take hold of the god; and undoubtedly the attitude expresses the one dominant desire to obtain from the god the suppliant's request.¹ On the interior of a *kylix* in the Berlin Museum, Earth (Ge) is represented in this attitude of supplication to Poseidon, who is slaying her son, the giant Polybotes.²

Perhaps the commonest word for worship or adoration is *προσκυνεῖν*, which should mean to kiss, or to throw a kiss to, the god. The kiss on the forehead or the hand was not merely a token of greeting but also a sign of reverence to men. Apparently the images of the gods also were once kissed on the hand or the foot as a token of reverence both among the Greeks and in Italy. The allusions to kissing sacred objects, and to throwing kisses to the gods are collected by Vouillème (S. 7 ff.), but do not lead to any very distinct conclusion. As to the meaning of the practice there is no doubt; it is a token of reverence transferred from the relations of men to the relation of man and god.

On the monuments the common attitude of worship is standing with the right hand raised and open, palm toward the god. Not rarely the garment of a woman is drawn around the arm up to the wrist, or the garment covers hand as well as arm. When a group of worshipers, it may be a family, approaches the altar, often only the men raise the hand in worship, as though they represented their wives and children before the god. The accompanying illustration (Fig. 3) is from a relief found with

¹Consequently this attitude is not, as HERMANN suggests, *G. A.*, § 21, S. 92, die *feierliche Stellung* of the worshiper, but it is distinctly the attitude of *supplication* to the gods in heaven.

²The illustration (Fig. 2) is from BAUMEISTER, *Denkmäler d. Klass. Alterthums*, Fig. 637. The same scene appears on the *Pergamon frieze*, BAUM., Fig. 1420. The attitude may be compared with the scenes represented in BAUMEISTER, Figs. 733, 442-443, 394a, *Arch. Zeit.*, 1849, Taf. 11; 1880, Taf. 12.

many similar ones in the Asklepieion at Athens. Asklepios and his daughter Hygieia (Health) are represented behind the altar which a procession of worshipers approaches, bringing an animal for sacrifice. The worshipers look up to the goddess, who



FIG. 2.—GE SUPPLICATING POSEIDON FOR HER SON.

seems to receive their worship in behalf of her father Asklepios, and the two in front raise the right hand in adoration. This gesture is evidently the attitude of worship in connection with the sacrifice. The scene of sacrifice itself is represented on several vases, and the offerer holds up his hand to the god as he pours out a libation. From these I have selected the *stamnos* in the British Museum, E 455, as perhaps the most characteristic (Fig. 4). On the right are boys holding spits on which meat is to be roasted, and a flute player. On the left a bearded man raises the left hand and holds out a cup to pour a libation; into

this cup a Nike is pouring wine for the libation. That the raised hand is not an attitude of surprise at the appearance of the Nike (Brit. Mus. Cat. of Vases, III, 279) is sufficiently shown by the two vase paintings repeated by Gerhard in the *Archäologische Zeitung*, 1845, Taf. XXXVI, 2, and 3 from D'Hancarville and Millin. In each of these the hand is raised in similar manner, but there is no Nike, and no suggestion of surprise.

In other scenes there is no distinct allusion to sacrifice. In an old relief at Athens the Nike on the hand of the Athena Parthenos is crowning some victor at the games. He stands with right hand raised in the presence of the gods (*Arch. Zeit.*, 1857, Taf. 105). So in the quaint Sosippos relief (*Arch. Zeit.*, 1845, Taf. 43) the worshiper stands in their presence—Curtius suggests that the odd form of Theseus is that in which he had appeared to Sosippos in some dream—and raises his right hand in devotion. Again, on a fine vase in Berlin (*Arch. Zeit.*, 1877, Taf. 11), Athene appears to be giving commands to a man who holds up his right hand toward her in token of respect and reverence.

I do not find any unequivocal allusion to this practice in the earlier literature, and perhaps this is not surprising, as the references to prayer are almost universally references to supplication in time of need. To express supplication, as we have seen, it was customary to raise both hands. The meaning of the raised right hand is to be determined with reference to the three cases in which it is found: *a*) the presentation of a sacrifice at the altar, *b*) the offering of a libation with the sacrifice, and *c*) the appearance of a god revealing himself to man. In each case the gesture means adoration; it is the attitude of a devout man who feels himself in the presence of a god. He raises his hand, *e.g.*, at the sacrifice, as it were to make some connection with the god, and to show that all his thoughts as well as his glance are turned toward the god.

The oath is in reality the invocation of the gods to punish him who swears falsely, so that the gesture of supplication (the two hands raised to the god) is appropriate in this case also. In the *Iliad* the staff is raised (H. 412, K. 321) in making an oath. The object of this act is to call the attention of the gods, as well

FIG. 3.—RELIEF FROM THE ASKLEPIEION AT ATHENS. WORSHIPERS BRINGING AN ANIMAL FOR SACRIFICE TO THE ALTAR.



as of men, to the oath that is to be pronounced ; the staff is raised just as the speaker before the assembly took the staff in order thereby to claim the attention of the assembly. In one of the Asklepios reliefs before referred to (Fig. 5), the worshiper stands before the altar on which are cakes and fruits, and grasps it with both hands. The monument is explained by a passage in Andokides (*De Myst.*, § 126) which states that a woman with her child was brought with an offering to the altar, and Kallias taking hold of the altar swore that the child was not his. The oath here is simply a statement of fact in the very presence of the god. In other instances a libation accompanies the oath, a libation invoking the god to be present and by his presence to bear witness to the truth of the statement. On important occasions, as when a treaty is made, animals are slain and the treaty is confirmed by a sacrifice. Each party touches the body of the animals, with hand or foot, and swears to the covenant. The gesture in this case is ordinarily understood to mean an identification of the person with the sacrifice expressing symbolically the fate that awaits him in case the oath is broken. Or, finally, the hand or the weapons are dipped in the blood of the animal. This act is entirely different from touching the body of the animal as that is commonly interpreted, for it means that the two contracting parties are bound together by the blood of the sacrifice ; it is the physical, material expression for the fact of the covenant.

If now we look back and examine these attitudes to ascertain what religious sentiments they express, it is evident at a glance that none of them gives distinct expression to *humility*. Prostration was classed with foreign religious rites as a kind of superstition ; the worshiper stood before the gods instead of kneeling ; the eyes were boldly and confidently raised toward the god ; neither the clasped hands nor any other marked sign of humility appears. Of course this does not mean that in Greece the worshiper failed to recognize that the gods were far above him. Interpreted in its relation to other evidence, it means that the Greek did not conceive of his gods as taking any direct pleasure in the self-humiliation of their servants. Man had his place in

the universe just as truly as did the gods, and he had no thought that it gave the gods pleasure to interfere with his proper activity. Attitudes of self-humiliation do not appear in Greece because the first principle of Greek religion is the dignity of man.



FIG. 4.—A SACRIFICIAL OFFERING UPON A GREEK ALTAR.

Again, we do not find among the attitudes of worship represented on Greek monuments or recorded in Greek literature any that express the deep *devotion* of the worshiper. In India worship often took the form of intense meditation on divine truth; among the monks of mediæval Europe a deep absorption in prayer, an earnest devotion in worship were cultivated; and in each case this habit of mind finds expression in art. A study of the attitudes of worship in Greece confirms the impression that this phase of religion did not develop there. We are reminded that Greek religion is too natural, too much a part of nature, to draw out such devotion. The gods are accepted as the sun and the rain, the woods and the rivers, are accepted—man recognizes

them and turns to them, both when he would enjoy their presence and when he feels the need of some benefit from them. And we are reminded farther that in Greece religion is decidedly a matter of joy and gladness. It bids the worshiper take delight in sympathy with the glad life of the gods; it does not develop in him the habit of absorbing thought or of mystic devotion.

The common attitude of Greek worship—standing with eyes fixed on the god, and the right hand raised toward him—expresses man's desire for *communion* with the god. Here, too, it is not a mystic communion which is sought, as was the case when the Christian worshiper imitated the attitude of Christ on the cross. In many practices that survived from an earlier type of religion this mystic imitation, it is true, does appear. The bear-dance to Artemis of Brauron is evidently an imitation of the goddess by her worshipers. And the conception of mystic inspiration, the god becoming himself present in the worshiper, was a part of that Dionysos-religion which obtained so deep a hold on the Greece of the sixth and fifth centuries. The normal conception of the relation of the god and his worshiper, however, was entirely different. Man lives on the earth, the gods live in heaven; and worship is the due recognition of the gods on the part of man. To forget the gods and neglect the sacrifice that is their due is as wrong as it would be to fail in showing the respect due to one's sovereign. The constant, regular recognition of the gods is as much a part of the reasonable man's life as to provide for his family, or to perform the duties of a patriot toward his fatherland. Thus religion is made a part of everyday life; a personal relation unites men and gods, and worship is the performance of a 'higher social duty. This nature-character of Greek religion, to which I have alluded before, appears in the attitude of the worshiper. He looks up to the god as he brings the sacrifice, confident that it will be accepted, and glad in the assurance that the god, being pleased, will show favor to the worshiper. He raises his hand to the god, showing by the gesture what is the attitude of his mind, viz., his thoughts rise to the god, recognizing the divine pres-

ence and seeking to enter into communion with it. The attitude reflects perfectly the conception we form from other sources of the relation of the Greek to his god. It expresses adoration



FIG. 5.—RELIEF FROM THE ASKLEPIEION AT ATHENS. AN ALTAR SCENE.

by a person who recognizes his own dignity, and looks up with confidence to a god that is made in his own image, but is far superior to himself.

Finally the attitudes of *supplication* are, as we have seen, the same attitudes that man assumes in bringing an earnest request to some fellow-man in whose power he feels himself to be. He

seeks to lay hold of the god in the effort to secure his protection — if it be protection that he needs. He grasps the image, the altar, some part of the temple, just as the Homeric Greek had laid hold of the knees of the person to whom the request is made. Or, looking up to the god, he extends his hands as though to lay hold of the very person of the god whom he cannot see or touch. The attitudes of supplication, all of which express the worshiper's desire to take hold of the god in the earnestness of his request, seem to me to show the same idea of man's relation to god that appears in other attitudes of worship. The gods are at hand, able to grant the request if they will; the worshiper urges his request upon them in the same way that he would urge it upon a human being into whose power he had come. The attitude expresses the worshiper's sense of helplessness, his dependence on the god, and his earnest desire to secure his object. It does not express agony, or fear, or self-humiliation on the part of the worshiper, for apparently his pain and his terror are not fused with the supplication, but rather alternate with it.

In conclusion, at the risk of repeating myself, I should like to call attention once more to three points with reference to the Greek's attitude of mind before his god. First, the *dignity of man* is never forgotten by the worshiper, even in moments of extreme supplication. The man has his place in the universe just as truly and as rightly as does the god. Worship is a social relation in which both factors, both the man and the god, have their proper place. For the Greek to lose control of himself or to humiliate himself before his god would be to dishonor the god by lowering the true relation in which man and god stand. Secondly, the *distinct personality* of both the man and the god is retained in the relation between the two which we call worship. The man is not lost in the god, nor does the god become a mere influence possessing the mind of the worshiper. Both are persons and the relation between the two is and remains the social relation between two personalities. Finally, one cannot study the accounts of Greek worship and the monuments on which it is represented without being struck with the *confidence* of the

worshiper. In the epic the gods are represented as temporarily abandoning their purpose in order to grant some petition that is raised to them. Many requests, of course, cannot be granted, but it would seem that the Greek brought a request to his god with more confidence than to his human superior. The Greek turned to the gods in his need for divine help as he went to the spring to satisfy his thirst; he performed his duties to the gods as he performed his duty to the state, without stopping to ask whether or not it would be acceptable.

ROCKS AND REVELATION.

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WITHIN a few decades have come radical change and thoughtful readjustment of the world's creeds. Truth has been sought and found but it has undergone no change. Petrified platitudes and popular misconceptions have worn away under the droppings of persistent and intelligent investigation. Theologic skeletons have been clothed with flesh and blood and have had breathed into them the breath of truth. Thus vitalized, society finds them busy in transforming the world's activities. Not alone has religious thought felt the touch of on-coming progress. Science too has undergone great change. Nature's story has been better learned and more clearly understood. False theories and visionary speculations have been dissipated as the thrilling record of the rocks and of the stars has been read aright. Much labeled "science" has proved to be classified error. Not alone in the realm of soul and conscience have men misconceived God. They have been scarcely less fortunate in the domain of matter. By showing the falsity of some theories concerning natural laws the atmosphere has been clarified in many things touching revelation. As relates to nature and revelation there can be but one measuring stick. God alone is the inflexible, unvarying standard. Human intellect in its loftiest achievements is feeble, faulty, limited. Infidelity and atheism have seized upon science as a sufficient weapon with which to destroy our faith. Assuming man's capacity to reach a faultless comprehension of nature's laws and methods unbelief would therewith prove revelation untrue. The constant shifting of the bases of scientific research, as new facts and new laws come to light, leads to the conclusion that fallible standards cannot give infallible results. Prove all things and hold fast that which is true is the rule in science

as well as in religion. True science and true revelation cannot disagree. The former deals with God's works; the latter are his words. Being infinite verity itself, his words and his works cannot be inharmonious. They must agree. Whatever may seem to be in conflict must be but man's faulty reading of the story told by the rocks or by revelation. False theology and scientific misconceptions must pass away. Many have been discarded as the light of investigation has revealed their falsity. It will no more do to cling to some dogma in religion because our fathers lived and died by it, than it will be accounted wise to hold the earth to be flat because for ages the most advanced thinkers were supposed to be able to demonstrate its truth. To accept the pre-Copernican theory of the universe would be to set back many ages the hands on the dial of human intelligence and progress. Can there be certainty in ascertaining truth, then, in either the book of nature or of revelation except in hearts and minds open to conviction, freed from preconceived notions, and as nearly as possible unbiased by environment and education? "Science interpreted is theology; science prosecuted to its conclusions leads to God." When the rocks began to tell their story of creation skeptics and atheists insisted that revelation was in conflict therewith, and therefore false. The trembling saint, ignorant of what science really taught, faltered in his faith. The geologist who saw nothing higher than the rock-written story proclaimed the Mosaic account of the genesis of all things a fabrication. He failed to see the omnipotent finger which made the record. He found a book full of wisdom, of beauty and of goodness without an author. Works of symmetry and of order had come by chance. The seeming antagonism between the rocks and revelation put to the test of scholarship much that is most vital to man. Time and study have made plain the truth and consequent perfect agreement in the words and works of the infinite, infallible Intelligence. It has been easily shown that the Mosaic account of creation and the story of the rocks are not in conflict. Each is supplementary and explanatory of the other. The works of Omnipotence are but object proofs of the thoughts of God in revelation. Both science

and the Bible are, as they ever have been, unsounded seas of knowledge. Even the wisest and greatest have found themselves but schoolboys on the beach picking up here and there a pebble of truth. Our concern, then, is for the truth to be found. Is the Mosaic account true or does geology make it false? If the story of the rocks contradicts the sacred writer he must be wrong. They cannot disagree and both be true. It is of little or no consequence whether Moses wrote the Pentateuch or whether it came through other hands. The later contention of higher criticism is merely scholarly speculation. Moses may have written that which men have made to bear his name, or he may have collated and edited the material from various sources. The settlement of the human authorship is not essential to the development of the truth taught. The vital question is, are these writings true? They exist and the hand that penned them has withered. The record it made stands as the only written history of more than 2000 years of human activity. When the tired traveler seeks a berth in a sleeper he does not stop to discuss whether the car be a Pullman, a Wagner, or a Woodruff. Sleep and rest from the weariness of the long night's travel are his aim. No more are we concerned whether the vehicle of communication be Moses, David, or Solomon. Truth and light are sought. Let the fierce fires of consuming, blinding criticism be quenched, but let there be light. Much of the anathema against Moses is based on mere speculation or lurid imagination. Science cannot even enter the domain occupied in largest part by revelation. Revelation announces truth while science explains its methods. "God created the heaven and the earth," says revelation. Science enters upon the infinite and endless task of explaining how the great work was done. The first chapter of Genesis gives good opportunity, in fact almost the only comprehensive one, of comparing God's words with his works. Here is a realm in which both may operate and be compared. Here also has come severest criticism. What, then, is the testimony of the rocks concerning the truth of this the first chapter in human history? The fact that this record after thousands of years is accepted, though poorly understood even by the wisest, proves that it is more

than mere human writing. As reason widens, as science explores, and as inventive genius gives new facilities, will the sublime truth of this word become more generally accepted, if it be true. The opening sentence of the Bible is vast and limitless in its scope. It transports us beyond time and its record. "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." Five conceptions are here contained, each so vast, so illimitable, so incomprehensible as to baffle the profoundest thought of the greatest intellect that ever came to our world. "In the beginning"—who can tell when that was? "God"—what genius can define and comprehend him? "Created"—how can such be? "The heaven"—where and what is it? "The earth"—what man can master it? This single statement is the foundation of all things. No man can define or explain it. Science cannot contradict it. Evolution must accept it, for the ultimate atom which goes into the structure of the lowest form of matter must have been "in the beginning." How could it be unless created by the author of all things? It could not beget itself. The simplest and lowest forms were, therefore, created in the beginning. By evolution these have grown into the higher and more complex until the "heaven" of creation is reached at last. This opening statement of the Mosaic account reaches back beyond time when the earth was without form and void. It goes into futurity to the highest heaven. Its extremes of beginning and termination are like the ends of the rainbow, the finders of which possess the fabulous pots of gold. I quote from a distinguished writer concerning this first statement recorded in human thought. He says: "It is the weightiest sentence ever uttered: it covers all past time, all conceivable space, all known things, all power, all intelligence, and the most comprehensive act of that intelligence and power. It tells of the origin of things, names the originators, states the time of the origin and coördinates all into one great system. The first verse is a statement on nearly all the great problems which now exercise scientists and philosophers. God, creation, eternity, cause, time, space, infinity, force, design, intelligence, will, destiny, universality. There is in it the germ of the whole Bible, as well as the germ of all science and philosophy. Compare

this first verse with the first verse of any history, or biography, or any work of man. These begin with a date, and tell the author's ancestors or some trivial matters. The first verse of Genesis begins very differently; if nothing else in the Bible is worthy of God this first verse is certainly worthy of him. Had the worlds met at the Almighty's feet to hear him speak, they could have heard him utter no sentence worthier of him in tones of thunder from his infinite throne." In his book *Is Moses Scientific?* Kipp says: "Here is the first word of history, for it begins with the beginning. Here is the first word of philosophy, for we cannot go beyond the first cause. Here is the first word of science, for we cannot go beyond the heaven and the earth."

Before things were was eternity. After earth ceases will be eternity. Time is but the parenthesis thrown in between to explain the eternities. Professor Guyot, in classifying the facts presented by astronomy, biology, and geology, worked out an order of events. When completed he found to his astonishment that he had but set forth essentially the cosmogony of the Bible. This remarkable result but proves the singular unity of truth. Rocks as well as stars, and the science of life, confirm the essentials of revelation. It should be borne in mind that Moses nowhere says that the world was suddenly created; that it was a solid globe; nor that all things were made in six days of twenty-four hours each. The long periods necessary to produce the various geologic formations have led to a supposed conflict between the rocks and revelation. When we have read of the days of creation we have thought of periods of twenty-four hours each. Our pigmy days were what misconception read between the lines. These could not be solar days because the sun itself is not spoken of by Moses until the fourth creative day. Even though a conflict were here shown between science and the Bible, there would be little satisfaction in turning to the wise men for definite data. Scientists among themselves only vary some millions of years in their estimates of the various creative or formative periods. Moses is as definite as this. There is a unity in all things. The very word, universe, implies

this, and there cannot be discrepancy or conflict anywhere in God's realm. To say that the Bible is not primarily written as a book of science is but to state a well-recognized truth. Notwithstanding this it may be truly said that the Mosaic record of creation, as given in the first chapter of Genesis, is within the domain of science. It is the "Apostles' Creed" of nature. Is there, then, conflict here between the story of rocks and of revelation? Truth cannot be on both sides of a controversy. One or the other is in error. The church has held to false theologies. Religion has not always given correct interpretations of God's Word. Many of the mistakes of Moses have been found to be false and dogmatic interpretations of revelation, inspired only by tradition and superstition. Much has been read and taught into Genesis that was not written there. Often, too, science has been shown to be false. Rather, supposed science has proved to be classified error and orderly arranged falsehood. Professor Drummond says that a text-book on science is obsolete in ten years. Professor Huxley has declared that the chief duty of science in each generation is to discard the errors of the science of a preceding generation. How, then, can there be claimed for scientific research such infallibility as to destroy this ancient writing? It deals with facts and conditions antedating man and history. As years have passed human science has become more exact, more comprehensive, and its conclusions have grown far more in unison with the great truths of revelation. The rocks speak as plainly of a beginning of matter as does Moses. To view matter as finite implies a Creator. "In the beginning" is no more plainly seen on the page of the book of revelation than it is in the great rock stories of geology. Science divides matter into molecules, and these into atoms. Then, from necessity, it announces that no further division is possible. The atom eludes the keenest scrutiny of the most acute scientific sense. It cannot be weighed or measured. Matter began—so say the rocks, and so says revelation. Here is perfect agreement. How or when it originated neither knows. The method of its subsequent formation into worlds and systems is equally baffling to science and revelation. The latter does

not assume to tell. After ages of evolution of intellect the most and best to be found in science is the nebular hypothesis. She here confesses her weakness. She does not know and merely stands on an assumption. The verdict of science is expressed by Professor Newcomb of Washington Observatory, thus: "At the present time we can only say that the nebular hypothesis is indicated by the general tendencies of the laws of nature; that it has not been proved to be inconsistent with any fact; that it is almost a necessary consequence of the only theory by which we can account for the origin and conservation of the sun's heat." The most that Professor Newcomb here claims is that this theory is *indicated*. Yet this nebular hypothesis is the best, the most exact knowledge that all the world's science and learning can give concerning making and organizing the universe. And yet Professor Mitchell says that this "is the boldest thought ever conceived by the human mind." It is accepted by the scientific world not because it can be *proved*, but because it cannot be *disproved*. The Copernican theory has been demonstrated. The nebular hypothesis remains as unauthenticated as when formulated and announced. Moses tells what was done. Laplace gives an hypothesis, an assumption of how it was accomplished. Surely conflict cannot be here. The latter is the complement of the former. The Mosaic account in no particular renders less probable the theory of nebular formation. Elsewhere, then, if at all, must be found divergence. That Moses was not unscientific is shown in these points: (1) He says there was a first cause; "God created." (2) Matter had a beginning. (3) It is not self-originating; God created it. (4) The true order is the heaven first, and then the earth, the latter not being the center as was long supposed. (5) "The earth was without form and void." This agrees with the nebular hypothesis. (6) Matter was at first fluid. (7) That there was no motion as required by the law of "dissipation of energy." (8) "That for this reason darkness was upon the face of the deep;" that motion did not beget itself. (10) The spirit of God is the source of all motion and force. (11) This force is not in matter, but came from without; "The spirit of God

moved upon the face of the waters," or fluid. (12) The motion imparted was vibratory as by the fluttering of the wings of a bird. These twelve great scientific facts are fundamental to all that follows. Kipp says that "they are as far-reaching as time, as wide as space, as reliable as truth. They are the very core of philosophy; they are the working theories which science may take and use in endless application." Moses put them into a few brief words. The ages since have scarcely been able to read them, much less to comprehend their sweeping import. In the first chapter of Genesis the expression, "And God said," occurs ten times. These may be fitly termed the decalogue of nature. In Exodus are found the ten commandments for man. These have ever been accepted by law-makers and judges, as well as by moralists, as containing the germs of all law, civil and ecclesiastical. In like manner scientist and thinker find in nature's decalogue, as given in the first chapter of human history, all the seeds of scientific and philosophic thought. This does not assume to tell how, but merely what was done in creation. It leaves the process to be explained by science, the younger sister of revelation. The Bible nowhere asserts instantaneous creation. The time when the lowest form of matter came into being is hid with God "in the beginning." From atom and molecule in their original state has come, in various stages of creation and development, man, the summit of creation's lofty edifice. The plans and specifications of the Great Architect were not given to human weakness for review. He spake and it was done. He ordered and it stood fast. Methods, processes, purposes, are God's. Man's work is to see, recognize, and utilize, the achievements of creative energy. One thing is sure, no mistakes were made. Order and perfection are on every hand. No half-finished objects are found to indicate change of purpose or imperfection of design. All is symmetrical, beautiful, complete. The tiniest blade of grass, the humblest grain of sand, or the most stalwart oak, equally shows forth his handiwork and declares his infinite glory. Everywhere it is found that creation has been progressive. First is presented the lower, and successively comes the higher. The

simple, then the more complex, is the order. This dovetails with the stories of the rocks and stars. Crude matter gives basis for all else. So Moses gives creation's order in perfect accord with science. Guyot says: "The fifth and sixth days offer no difficulties, for they unfold the successive creation of various tribes and animals which people the water, the air, and the land, in the precise order indicated by geology." The same is true of the four creative days preceding. Geology fixes the order of the introduction of life. Dana's chart gives it as follows: (1) invertebrates or mollusks; (2) fishes; (3) reptiles; (4) mammals; (5) man. This is the language of the rocks, and exactly agrees with revelation. First, matter; then light; after this, division of sea and land, followed by plant life; then again, fishes, birds, and animals, all leading to the zenith of creation's work—man. His animal and spiritual life wholly depends upon all the preceding stages of preparatory work. Moses presents three distinct and separate acts of creation. All else may have evolved from existing conditions. These are: (1) the beginning of matter; (2) the beginning of life; science and revelation equally condemn spontaneous generation; (3) the beginning of spiritual life. Before this mystery science is dumb. She can neither affirm nor deny. All was made for man, and he for God. The body being material returns to dust; the spirit being eternal goes to God who formed it. Revelation not only stands here, but submits to other tests: (1) It stood the assaults of time. Nothing but truth lasts; all material things perish. The "everlasting hills" are gnawed away by the tooth of time. The Bible stands today time-tested more glorious than ever before. (2) Experience also adds its testimony. Thousands—aye, millions—have tasted its sweets and know, not for others, but for themselves, that it is good and true. (3) Again, it is confirmed by *history*. Ancient history, archæology, ethnology, and the study of comparative languages, all tell the story of biblical verity. Ancient monuments exhumed, rolls and tablets deciphered, historic places unearthed and mummies coming forth from tombs long forgotten, bringing scrolls in their withered hands, constitute a cloud of witnesses in whose

mouths the truth of revelation is proved. Last of all, but not least, is the proof conclusive from science. Biology, astronomy, ethnology, archaeology, join in the story of the rocks to confirm the truth of God's words in revelation. Science is the great search-light penetrating to the inmost recesses of nature's caverns to bring to view the rich treasures long hidden from human eyes. "No longer, with the jealousy and petulance of ignorance, keeping each her own book to herself, revelation and science now, like two loving and beautiful sisters, sit down together and ask each other's aid. Revelation turns over the leaves of the Bible and asks science to help interpret its teachings to men; and science turns over the rocky leaves of nature, and when she has deciphered the hieroglyphics which the divine finger has written upon them, she is surprised and rejoices when revelation shows that they are but pictured illustrations of the same truths contained in the written word." Though we may not see all, or comprehend all, in either the rocks or in revelation, we may feel quite assured that, when we have fully known the truth, the rock-written story will not differ from that written by Jehovah with the finger of man.

Inductive Studies in the Acts.

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THE PRIMITIVE ERA OF CHRISTIANITY.

AS RECORDED IN THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

30-63 A. D.

SEC. 3. RENEWED HOSTILITY OF THE JEWS TOWARD THE CHRISTIANS.

Acts 3:1—4:31. About 31-32 A. D. Jerusalem.

I. STUDY OF THE FACTS.

Let the following subclassification and abstract of the material in this section be verified, corrected, or improved :

Par. 1. 3:1-11, A Miracle of Healing by the Apostles.

Par. 2. 3:12-26, Peter's Subsequent Discourse in Solomon's Porch.

Par. 3. 4:1-4, The Arrest of Peter and John by the Jews.

Par. 4. 4:5-12, Their Trial before the Sanhedrin.

Par. 5. 4:13-22, The Unwilling Release of the Apostles.

Par. 6. 4:23-31, Consequent Thanksgiving and Prayer of the Christians.

Abstract.—On one occasion, as Peter and John were going into the temple to pray, they came upon a lame beggar, and partly for his own sake, partly to attract the attention of the people that they might preach the gospel to them, they healed the man. Then Peter declared to the throng of people that this cure which had amazed them was wrought by God, through Jesus their Messiah whom they had put to death, but whom God had raised and exalted to heaven. And if they would now repent of all their sins, Christ would return, and the great Messianic era would come. The Jews, particularly the Sadducees, hated and feared the Christian movement. Therefore Peter and John were arrested and brought to trial before the Sanhe

drin. Nothing could be done, however, for the cure could not be denied, and the popular favor toward the apostles was strong. They were simply dismissed with the charge that they should stop preaching the gospel, a thing which Peter and John refused to do. The Christians were greatly rejoiced at this victory, and gave themselves with new courage to their work of spreading the gospel.

II. TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION.

1. *The cure and its significance.*—What is the relation of this incident to Acts 2:43? Can the time of it be ascertained? Describe the condition of the cripple (*cf.* Acts 3:2, 10; 4:22). Did he know that Peter and John were Christian apostles? Exactly what did Peter mean by his words "Silver and gold have I none"? Why did he heal this lame beggar? Explain the significance of Peter's command, "In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, walk." Observe that the cure was witnessed by many (*cf.* Acts 3:9; 4:16). See the account in Acts 14:8-18 of a similar cure worked by Paul. What reasons were there for recording this miracle at such length?

2. *Peter's discourse in the temple.*—Describe the circumstances under which Peter spoke these words (3:12-26) to the people. Recall Christ's discourse here at the temple a year or two before (*cf.* John 10:22-42). Had the activities of the Christians during this intervening period been mainly confined to their own company and life, or had they been publicly preaching and working? State the line of thought which Peter followed in his address. What were the chief points of truth which he brought out? Review in the gospel accounts the facts about Jesus which Peter adduces in 3:13-15. On the term "Servant" (3:13, 26) compare Isa. 42:1; Matt. 12:18; Acts 4:27, 30. Explain Peter's statement (vs. 17) that the Jews had through ignorance crucified Jesus. Why did Peter declare that God had foreseen what would happen to Christ, and in it his purpose had been fulfilled (*cf.* also Acts 2:23; Luke 22:22; 1 Cor. 1:23)? Explain the phrase (vs. 21) "the times of restoration of all things" (*cf.* Isa. 1:24-27; Matt. 17:11; Acts 1:26; Rom. 8:22, 23; 1 Cor. 15:19-28). Compare carefully the Old Testament quotation in vss. 22, 23 with the original in Deut. 18:15-19. Was the reference there to an individual Messiah, or to a line of prophets? State from 3:26 the nature of the blessing which Christ brought to men. What was the practical aim of this discourse? Was its purpose accomplished? How are we to understand that this account of the discourse was handed down? Have we

all that Peter said at the time, or only the substance of his address? What is the value to us of this record?

3. *The trial and release of the apostles.*—Why had there been no persecution of the Christians since the crucifixion until this time? How had the Christian community been progressing since that time? State the way in which this persecution arose. Who were the leaders in this opposition (4:1)? Why were the Sadducees now aroused against the Christians? Did the Pharisees also join in the movement? Explain the fact that the chief enemies of Christ were the Pharisees, while the chief enemies of his followers were, during this period, the Sadducees. What does the full, formal meeting of the Sanhedrin indicate as to the nature of this trial? What charge was made against Peter and John? Were they subject to the authority of the Sanhedrin? Consider carefully the defense which Peter made. Explain in detail the meaning of 4:12 (*cf.* John 3:18; 14:6; 1 Cor. 3:11; Gal. 1:8, 9; Phil. 2:9-11; Heb. 2:3). What was the decision of the Sanhedrin in this case? Why was it so mild (*cf.* 4:16, 21)? Did the apostles submit to the decision?

4. *Peter and John, leading apostles.*—Why were these two men so closely associated in Christian work (*cf.* Mark 6:7; Luke 22:8; John 1:41; 18:16; 20:6; Acts 8:14; Gal. 2:9)? Should we understand from Acts 3 and 4 that John was always silent in public, or that he also spoke to the people and before the Sanhedrin, but that his words have not been preserved? If the latter, why were they not preserved? What is the meaning of "unlearned and ignorant" as applied in 4:13 to Peter and John? Does it refer to the fact that they had not been trained in the Jewish rabbinical schools (*cf.* John 7:15)? As a matter of fact, are the indications strong, both from their work and their writings, that Peter and John were well educated (for their time and country), and were possessed of peculiar ability? Is our English translation of this passage misleading therefore? What is the meaning of the phrase "took knowledge" in 4:13 (*cf.* 3:10)? Also, what is the meaning of the phrase "been with Jesus" in the same verse; does it indicate anything more than that they had been formerly seen in company with Jesus (*cf.* Mark 14:66-71)?

5. *Thanksgiving and prayer of the Christians.*—Was the outcome of this trial a victory for the Christians over their bitterest opponents? Explain why this was an important crisis for the gospel. What were the several reasons for this triumph of the gospel? What was the number of the Christians at this time (*cf.* 4:4)? How did they hear

of the result of the trial? Was prayer the most natural expression of their joy? Consider carefully what is contained in the prayer here recorded: ascription to God (vs. 24), recalling the prophecy (vss. 25, 26), description of the situation (vss. 27, 28), appeal to God for protection, courage, assistance, testimony (vss. 29, 30). Why was this prayer addressed to God rather than to Christ? What is the New Testament usage in this matter? Compare the Old Testament quotation (vss. 25, 26) with the original in Ps. 2:1, 2. How did it apply to this situation of the Christians? With the facts and teachings contained in verses 27 and 28 compare the gospel records on these points. For what did the Christians now pray (vss. 29, 30)? In what ways was their prayer answered? As to the form of this prayer, was it a prayer made on the occasion by one of the disciples, in which all joined; or was it a stated prayer or chant of the Christians, already familiar from use on other occasions, which the Christians now repeated?

III. OBSERVATIONS AND TEACHINGS.

1. *Organization.*—The whole number of Christians at this time in Jerusalem is recorded as about five thousand.—There is still no formal organization of the Christians, the apostles acting as the leaders of the community.—Peter and John, often before associated together, appear in this section as public preachers of the gospel, and as conspicuous representatives of the Christian movement are brought to trial before the Sanhedrin.—The disciples were closely bound together in love for one another and devotion to the gospel.

2. *Environment.*—A year or two after the crucifixion of Jesus there arose another persecution of Christianity by the Jews.—In this persecution the lead was taken by the Sadducees, for they feared that the Christians would gain the support of the people and then set up a revolt against Roman authority which would overthrow the Sadducean political control and rob the Jews of what freedom they had (*cf.* John 11:47-49).—The Pharisees did not join actively in this persecution because the Christians, contrary to the example of Jesus, did not antagonize the Pharisaic system, but continued their conformity to established Jewish rites and customs along with their Christianity.—The people were friendly to the Christians, and restrained the Sanhedrin from violence against Peter and John.

3. *Institutions.*—As just stated, the Christians remained faithful to the religious observances of Judaism, and here the two apostles appear in attendance upon one of the prayer hours at the temple.—A gather-

ing of the Christians for united thanksgiving and prayer followed the release of Peter and John.—It is possible that in this connection we have a liturgical fragment, indicating that even so early the Christians had set forms of prayer; this explanation of the prayer is suggested by the absence from it of any specific references to this situation, the words being so general that they might refer to any of their escapes from Jewish persecution.

4. *Belief and teaching.*—It was the God of Israel who had been manifested in and was now working through Christ.—Peter charged the Jews with the murder of Jesus, but explained their action as due to ignorance.—Now, at any rate, they could be no longer ignorant of the Messiahship of Jesus, because of his resurrection.—They should all repent, then their sins would be forgiven, and Christ would come again to consummate his kingdom.—God sent Christ to bless men by turning them from their iniquities.—It is only in and through Christ that salvation has come to men.—There is an authority higher than any human authority, to which all men owe supreme allegiance.

5. *Daily life.*—Miracles were worked by the apostles, but only and confessedly in the name and by the power of Jesus.—It is the privilege of the poor in this world to make many rich, and having nothing yet to possess all things.—Peter and John, going about their daily duties, took the opportunity to restore a cripple and to preach the gospel with marvelous power and effect to a large number who were interested by the cure.—The Christian company were gathered together awaiting in suspense the outcome of the trial of the apostles, showing their loving union.

6. *Divine guidance.*—Peter and John were by the grace of God courageous, confident, and independent before the Sanhedrin.—By divine providence the popular sentiment of sympathy for the Christians was so strong that the Jewish rulers did not dare to do the apostles harm.—The grace, inspiration, and assistance needed by the disciples were constantly given them by God.

Literature.—There will be little found upon this section outside of the commentaries on Acts, see those of GLOAG, HACKETT, MEYER and the CAMBRIDGE BIBLE. Also NEANDER, Planting and Training of the Christian Church, Vol. I, pp. 41–46; STIFLER, Introduction to the Book of Acts, sec. iv. Information upon the text can often be obtained by the use of a Bible dictionary; the best at present is SMITH'S BIBLE DICTIONARY, second edition (Christian Literature Co., N. Y., 3 vols., \$22); a new Bible dictionary is being prepared by Messrs. T. & T. Clark of Edinburgh (Scribners, N. Y., importers), in four volumes, the first of which is to be published in 1897; and still another, of smaller size, is being prepared by Messrs. A. & C. Black of London (Macmillan Co., N. Y., importers), in two volumes, to appear within a year or two. That published by the Clarks will probably be the best of the three.

SEC. 4. PROPERTY RELATIONS AND BENEFICENCE OF THE JERUSALEM CHRISTIANS.

Acts 4:32—5:11. About 31–33 A. D. Jerusalem.

I. STUDY OF THE FACTS.

Let the following subclassification and abstract of the material in this section be verified, corrected, or improved:

Par. 1. 4:32–35, Unity of Heart and Community of Goods.

Par. 2. 4:36, 37, Barnabas' Notable Gift.

Par. 3. 5:1–11, The Sin and Punishment of Ananias and Sapphira.

Abstract.—The Christians were one in heart, interest, and possessions. The Holy Spirit was with them in their ministry to unbelievers and to each other. A charity fund for the poorer brethren was provided by those who had more wealth. Particularly interesting was the generous contribution of Barnabas, whose home was in distant Cyprus. One sad instance marred this enthusiastic beneficence. Two members of the brotherhood, who wished to appear as generous as the others, but who were at heart wholly selfish, in hypocrisy offered a contribution. This sin struck so vitally at the integrity and purity of the Christian community that it called down divine judgment upon them. Under Peter's condemnation, first Ananias and later his wife were visited by sudden death. A deep feeling of awe came over all at this solemn, severe meting out of divine justice for the purification of the body of disciples from its unholy members.

II. TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION.

1. *The common life of the Christians.*—Do vss. 32–35 give a brief general description of the Christian community in these first years of its life? Explain the meaning of the phrase “of one heart and soul” (vs. 32; cf. 1 Chron. 12:38; Jer. 32:39; Rom. 15:5, 6; Phil. 2:2; 1 Peter 3:8). About what was the number of Christians in Jerusalem at this time (cf. Acts 4:4)? What reasons were there for this great harmony of feeling and activity? Observe once more that witness-bearing to the resurrection of Christ was one of the chief features of their work (cf. Acts 1:8, 22; 2:32; 3:15; 4:10). Compare the title “Lord Jesus” in vs. 33 with other designations of Christ in Acts (1:1, 14, 21; 2:22, 32, 36; 3:6, 13–15, 18, 20, 26; 4:2, 10, 13, 18, 27, 30). Meaning of “great grace was upon them all” (vs. 33)? How did the fraternity of

the disciples appear in their property relations? Is the expression "laid them at the apostles' feet" (vs. 35, *cf.* vs. 37 and 5:2) to be understood literally or figuratively? Why had the apostles given a surname (vs. 36) to Joseph? Why is it mentioned that Barnabas was a Levite? Locate Cyprus upon the map; was Barnabas' home there? Describe the spiritual and moral condition of the community in general. Does Peter still appear as the leading disciple? Were there yet any formal officers among the Christians? In 5:11 the term "church" is for the first time in Acts used of the body of Christians; what is the significance of this? When did this term, as an historical fact, begin to be used in this way? What terms had been used of the Christians up to this time (*cf.* Acts 1:15, 16; 4:23, 32)?

2. *The sharing of goods at Jerusalem.*—Make a careful study of Acts 2:44, 45; 4:32, 34; 5:4, to determine the exact nature of this sharing of goods among the Jerusalem Christians. How much need was there for such charity? What were the causes of this poverty among the disciples? What kind of property was disposed of for these purposes? Why is Barnabas' gift especially mentioned (vss. 36, 37)? Was this sharing of goods required, or was it in every case purely voluntary? Did those who contributed give all they had, or only such a proportion as they saw fit? Was the private ownership of property abolished, or was it simply a high degree of the sharing of goods between those Christians who had abundance and those who were in need? What were the underlying causes of this arrangement: (a) fraternal beneficence toward needy brethren; or (b) the supposition that it was instituted and approved by Christ in the case of himself and his apostles, and should therefore be continued among his followers; or (c) the anticipation of Christ's speedy return, when earthly possessions would no longer be of value? Was there any relation between this Christian sharing of goods and the communism of the Essenes of the time (*cf.* Josephus' *Wars of the Jews*, II, 8, 3)? How long did this state of things continue among the Jerusalem Christians? Is there any further reference to it in the Acts or epistles? Was it ever tried elsewhere; if not, why not? Was it a success or a failure at Jerusalem? Can any argument for communism among Christians be drawn from this sharing of goods?

3. *The sin of Ananias and Sapphira.*—Were they members of the Christian community? Is anything known about them beyond what is here recorded? What was it that they did? Why did they keep back part of the price? Were they under any obligations to give it all

(*cf.* vs. 4)? Did their sin lie in their hypocritical pretense that the amount turned over to the brotherhood was the whole amount received? Why did they make such a misrepresentation? Was it deliberately planned? Were Ananias and Sapphira equal partakers in the deception? May their sin be described as a "spurious imitation of exalted virtue"? How did Peter know of their hypocrisy? Were they at heart selfish, while at the same time they wished to *appear* as generous as the others? Explain the meaning (vs. 3) of "Satan filled thy heart." What was it (vs. 3) to "lie to the Holy Ghost"? In connection with vs. 6 ascertain something about the burial customs of the time. What is the meaning (vs. 9) of the phrase "to tempt the Spirit of the Lord"?

4. *Justification of the divine punishment.*—In the founding of a great institution, such as was the Christian church, is it essential to have the principles of that institution absolutely recognized and established at the outset? To secure this, what degree of resistance to enemies of the institution will be justifiable? Could any blow be more dangerous to the infant church than one aimed at the purity and sincerity of the moral and religious life of its members? Was the sin of Ananias and Sapphira anything less than this? Consider whether it was premeditated, grossly corrupting, from within the body of believers, and essentially unchristian. What sort of punishment in this case would (*a*) extirpate selfishness and hypocrisy from the Christian community, (*b*) exclude all who were not genuine Christians, and (*c*) support the divine authority of the apostles in the founding of the Christian church? Was anything short of the punishment inflicted upon Ananias and Sapphira adequate to effect these things? Did the punishment in fact accomplish these things? Consider similar visitations of God upon sin at critical points in religious development as recorded in the Old Testament (*cf.* Gen. 4:1-15; Lev. 10:1-7; Num. 16:1-35; Josh. 7:1-26; 2 Sam. 6:1-7). Is there reason to think, with Professor Ramsay,¹ that the account of the Ananias and Sapphira incident has been so modified in transmission as not now to represent exactly what took place?

III. OBSERVATIONS AND TEACHINGS.

1. *Organization.*—Again Peter appears as leader and spokesman of the Christian community.—The apostles were at this time the over-

¹ *St. Paul the Traveler*, p. 370: "The episode of Ananias and Sapphira (5:1-11) excites reasonable suspicion. . . . The desire to bring into strong relief the unselfishness of the primitive church has worked itself out in a moral apologue which has found here an entrance alongside of real history."

seers of the distribution of the charitable funds among the Christians.—The disciples were united in one happy company, of one heart and soul, sharing their goods and preaching the gospel.—Two unworthy members of the community were removed by divine visitation.

2. *Environment.*—The Christians were now at rest from persecution from without.—But the purity and integrity of the body of disciples was threatened from within, by the hypocrisy and falsehood of two members of the community.—Christianity produced a profound impression upon those who witnessed it.

3. *Institutions.*—It does not appear that the sharing of goods among the Jerusalem Christians was a communistic condition.—For this sharing was voluntary, limited, local and temporary, and did not go beyond a high degree of generosity in giving to their brethren according to their needs.—It may be inferred that the judgment upon Ananias and Sapphira came upon them in a public meeting of the Christians.

4. *Belief and teaching.*—All sin is primarily against God.—The desire to appear what one is not, coveting a reputation for doing what one does not do, and the simulation of a feeling which one does not feel, are nothing less than hypocrisy, which is essentially unchristian and subversive of that which is right and good.—The extreme punishment visited upon Ananias and Sapphira was held to be just and necessary to the well-being of the community.

5. *Daily life.*—It would seem that in some respects there was ideal fellowship, sympathy, and generosity among the Christians at this time.—They were one in heart, purpose, and life.—Their great work was the spread of the gospel by witnessing to the resurrection, and therefore the living lordship of Christ.—A shadow had fallen across the community in the great sin of two of their number.—The severe penalty meted out by God made them conscious of how great sincerity and purity of life, and devotion to Christian principles, were required of them.

6. *Divine guidance.*—God kept his people, even by severest judgment, from the corrupting effects of sin springing up within the Christian community itself.—Divine grace was freely bestowed upon Christ's followers to guide and instruct them, and to give them influence over non-believers.

Literature.—Upon this section see the commentaries on Acts, especially those of GLOAG, HACKETT, MEYER and the CAMBRIDGE BIBLE. Also NEANDER, Planting and Training of the Christian Church, Vol. I, pp. 24–28; STIFLER, Introduction to the Book of Acts, sec. v; WEIZSÄCKER, Apostolic Age of the Christian Church, Vol. I, pp. 52–58; COBB, The Fellowship of Goods in the Apostolic Church (an article in the Presbyterian and Reformed Review, January 1897).

SEC. 5. APOSTOLIC MIRACLE-WORKING AND FURTHER JEWISH PERSECUTION.

Acts 5:12-42. About 32-33 A. D. Jerusalem.

I. STUDY OF THE FACTS.

Let the following subclassification and abstract of the material in this section be verified, corrected, or improved :

- Par. 1. 5:12-16, Activity and Strength of the Christians.
- Par. 2. 5:17, 18, Second Imprisonment of the Apostles.
- Par. 3. 5:19-21a, Miraculous Release and Preaching in the Temple.
- Par. 4. 5:21b-25, Consultation of the Sanhedrin.
- Par. 5. 5:26-32, The Arrest, Trial, and Defense of the Apostles.
- Par. 6. 5:33-39, The Counsel of Gamaliel.
- Par. 7. 5:40-42, Dismissal of the Apostles after Scourging.

Abstract.—The apostles worked many miracle-signs of healing among the sick in Jerusalem, because of which there was great reverence for the Christians among the people, and many additions to their number. The movement was gaining so much strength and prestige that once more the Sadducees undertook to check it. The apostles were thrown into prison, but the same night were providentially released, and on the next day were again teaching in the temple. A second arrest followed, and a trial before the Sanhedrin, where they were called to account for their disobedience to the previous injunction of that body. They replied that their supreme duty was to preach the message and authority of Christ to men. The Sadducees would have tried violent measures had not Gamaliel, representing the Pharisaic members of the Sanhedrin, intervened with counsels of moderation. A more lenient decision prevailed. The apostles were scourged and dismissed, with the same injunction to cease their teaching of the gospel. As before, they continued their teaching confidently and energetically, for the people were with them.

II. TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION.

1. *Apostolic miracle-working.*—Note carefully the information on this subject which is contained in vss. 12-16. Is the expression, “by the hands of” (vs. 12), to be understood literally (*cf.* Josh. 14:2; Mark 6:5; 16:18)? Recall also the miracle recorded in Acts 3. Did all of the apostles work miracles (*cf.* 2:43; 5:12)? Did others than the apostles also work them (*cf.* 6:8; 8:6, 7, 13)? Were they of any other

kind than the healing of the sick? What was the divine purpose in the working of them? Is it definitely stated that any sick were cured by the shadow of Peter falling upon them, or was that only their superstitious idea? Is there any objection to believing that Peter could heal without corporeal contact? What is to be understood (vs. 15) regarding these shadow cures? Compare the somewhat similar account of miracles of healing by Paul in Acts 19:11, 12. Compare the apostolic miracles with Christ's miracles as regards frequency, nature, variety, wonderfulness, and influence. In whose name did Jesus work miracles (*cf.* John 5:19; 11:41; Mark 5:41; Luke 7:14, and elsewhere)? In whose name did the apostles work miracles (*cf.* Acts 3:6; 4:10; 9:40, and elsewhere)? What is the significance of the difference?

2. *Activity and prestige of the Christians.*—Observe that vss. 12-16 form one of the frequent short paragraphs descriptive of the general condition of the Christian community (*cf.* Acts 2:42, 43-47; 4:32-35; 12:24, 25, and elsewhere). The number of Christians is constantly and rapidly growing (vs. 14), "multitudes" being added to the disciples, and the count is no longer kept (*cf.* Acts 1:15; 2:41; 4:4). Where was the center of their evangelistic work (*cf.* vss. 12, 20, 21, 25, 42)? What was the reason of this? How was this possible since the rulers were so hostile? What was the attitude of the people toward the Christians, and why? Explain in detail the meaning of vs. 13. What success attended the work of the apostles? Consider the fidelity, energy, and courage of the Christians in their work. How did God show them that he was protecting and guiding them? What was the Christian principle on which the apostles could rejoice in their suffering (vs. 41, *cf.* Matt. 5:10-12; 10:16-39; Acts 16:23-25; Rom. 5:3; Gal. 6:14; 2 Cor. 6:8-10)? What effect upon them had the punishment and prohibition of the Sanhedrin? What is meant by "at home" in vs. 42? What is the difference between the teaching and preaching noted in vs. 42?

3. *The Jewish Sanhedrin.*—When and under what circumstances was the Jewish Sanhedrin instituted? What is the meaning and the origin of the name Sanhedrin? Of how many members was it composed? What different classes or parties were represented in its membership? How were the Sanhedrists appointed? What were the duration, qualifications, and duties of office? Who presided over the body? What was the relative strength of the Sadducees and Pharisees in the Sanhedrin at this apostolic time? Which party led in the

opposition to Christ, and why? Which party led in the early opposition to the apostles, and why? What were the functions of the Sanhedrin? How was its power at this time limited? What were the range and scope of its jurisdiction? Where were the sessions of the Sanhedrin held? What was the method of procedure in trials? Consider the relation of the Sanhedrin to John the Baptist, Jesus, Peter, Stephen, Paul. Why was the Sanhedrin the bitterest persecutor of Christianity?

4. *Proceedings and outcome of the second trial.*—Compare this trial carefully in detail with the former trial recorded in Acts 4:1-22. Who were the leaders in that trial, and in this? What charge was brought against the apostles in each? What was the purpose of the miraculous release of the apostles, and what effect, if any, did it have upon the Sanhedrin? State in full the reasons for the jealousy of the Sadduceans against the Christians (vss. 17, 24). What did they admit (vs. 28) as to the success and strength of the Christian movement? How would that "bring this man's blood upon" them (vs. 28)? What defense did the apostles make to the charge of disobedience? Compare this with their defense in the previous trial (4:8-12). How could their disregard of the injunction of the Sanhedrin be justified (*cf.* Rom. 13:1-7; 1 Peter 2:13, 14)? What did the Sadducees wish to do with the apostles? How were violent measures thwarted? What judgment was finally rendered against the apostles? Why were they scourged? Was there any probability that they would cease "to speak in the name of Jesus"? Did they continue as before in their gospel mission? What effect did the trial have upon the progress of the gospel?

5. *The counsel of Gamaliel.*—What was Gamaliel's ancestry? What was his position as a teacher and Sanhedrist (*cf.* Acts 22:3)? What was his personal attitude toward Christianity? Consider carefully the question why Gamaliel counseled moderation toward the Christians. Was it due to a tolerant spirit? Was it due to a wisdom gained from historical observation? Was it due to opposition to the Sadducees, himself being a Pharisee? Did Gamaliel exert only an individual influence, or did he speak on this occasion as the representative of the Pharisaic element in the Sanhedrin? Why did the Sadducees accede to Gamaliel's advice? Was it because they were persuaded that tolerance was better than violence, or because they could not carry their measures against the Pharisaic majority in the Sanhedrin (*cf.* Acts 23:6-9)? Had they reason also to fear the people, who were sup-

porting the Christians (*cf.* vs. 26)? Ascertain what further can be known about the two historical incidents cited by Gamaliel.

III. OBSERVATIONS AND TEACHINGS.

1. *Organization.*—The apostles were arrested and brought to trial as the leaders of the Christian movement.—The body of Christians was growing constantly and rapidly, so that their number was no longer recorded.

2. *Environment.*—The people regarded the Christians with awe and reverence, and many of them joined the disciples.—The Sadducees were fearful that the Christian movement would sweep everything before it; the city of Jerusalem was filled with their teaching.—This meeting of the Sanhedrin was larger, more formal, and more impassioned than the previous one.

3. *Institutions.*—Does the present section contribute any information on this subject?

4. *Belief and teaching.*—The meaning of Jesus' life, death, and exaltation was plainly preached to the Sanhedrists.—Obedience to God's commands superseded obedience to the commands of any human authorities.—Persecution for the sake of the gospel was gladly borne by the apostles.

5. *Daily life.*—The temple was a general meeting place of the Christians, and was also at this time the center of the public work.—Miracles were worked by the apostles as testimonials to their authority and as a summons of attention to their teaching.—The apostles did not in the least remit their evangelizing activities because of the prohibitory injunctions of the Sanhedrin.

6. *Divine guidance.*—The Christians were given power and grace to attract and win many converts to the gospel, and to create a feeling of awe and reverence toward their cause.—Miraculous release from imprisonment was given the apostles, as a testimony to their divine mission.

Literature.—Upon this section see the commentaries on Acts, especially those of GLOAG, HACKETT, MEYER, and the CAMBRIDGE BIBLE. Also NEANDER, Planting and Training of the Christian Church, Vol. I, pp. 46–48; STIFLER, Introduction to the Book of Acts, sec. vi; FARRAR, Life and Work of Paul, Bk. I, ch. 6. On the Sanhedrin, see the article upon that subject in the BIBLE DICTIONARY; SEIDEL, In the Time of Jesus, Bk. II, ch. 3; SCHÜRER, Jewish People in the Time of Christ, sec. 23; STAPPER, Palestine in the Time of Christ, Bk. I, ch. 5.

The Council of Seventy.

Professor James S. Riggs has preached at Vassar College three successive Sundays. His topic was The Sermon on the Mount. A course of lectures on Biblical Geography is also contemplated.

Professor Frank K. Sanders is conducting in the *Sunday School Times* a senior Bible class. The work covers such portions of the Scriptures as are selected from week to week in the International Lessons.

Professor Lincoln Hulley, of Bucknell University, will spend the coming summer in Europe. At present he is giving weekly lectures on Sunday afternoons in Baltimore, Md., on The Life and Letters of Paul and The Book of Psalms.

The following members of the Council were present at the meeting of the Society for Biblical Exegesis in New York City last December : Professors Chas. F. Bradley, Ernest D. Burton, Shailer Mathews, Willis J. Beecher, and Frank K. Sanders.

Professor A. H. Huizinga and Professor Geo. R. Hovey have found it necessary for personal reasons to resign from the Council. The membership now stands, therefore: In the Old Testament Chamber, twenty-one; New Testament Chamber, sixteen; General Chamber, thirteen; whole number, fifty.

Dr. Herbert L. Willett has recently conducted the following institutes: at Rock Island, Ill., four lectures, The Beginnings of the Church, Early Phases and Events of Christian History, The Best Days of the Apostle Paul, The Culmination of the Ministry of the Apostle Paul. At Des Moines, Iowa, six lectures on The Beginnings of Christianity, and again at Perry, Iowa, the same course. Dr. Willett will visit the Pacific coast in July, and it is possible that he may offer instruction at the California assemblies. For six weeks from February 1st he will give instruction in connection with the Bible chair recently established at the University of Virginia, under the auspices of the denomination of the Disciples.

Two Sunday Bible classes under the instruction of members of the Council of Seventy are in progress at The University of Chicago. The first is taught by President William R. Harper. The subject under consideration is Prophecy and the History of Prophecy, a study of the prophetic periods and the underlying principles of prophecy. The second is under the charge of Professor Ernest D. Burton, the subject, An Historical Study of the Life of the Christ. About 100 students are registered for each course. Regular reading and weekly themes are required of each student, and college credit to the extent of one-quarter major is given for each course. Both courses will continue through the winter and spring quarters.

A course of lectures on Life after Death is being delivered simultaneously at The University of Chicago and at Central Music Hall, Chicago. The names of the following members of the Council appear in the list of speakers: January 17th, Dr. Jas. H. Breasted, Life after Death among the Egyptians; January 24th, Professor E. T. Harper, Life after Death among the Assyro-Babylonians; January 31st, Professor Geo. S. Goodspeed, Life after Death in Ancient Persia and India; February 14th, President William R. Harper, Life after Death among the Hebrews; February 28th, Professor Ernest D. Burton, Life after Death in the New Testament; March 21st, Professor W. D. Mackenzie, Life after Death from the Point of View of Philosophy.

The following gentlemen, elected to the Council at the annual meeting last December, have accepted membership:

OLD TESTAMENT CHAMBER: Professors Nathaniel Schmidt, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.; G. L. Robinson, Knox Theological Seminary, Toronto, Ont.

NEW TESTAMENT CHAMBER: Professors A. W. Anthony, Cobb Divinity School, Lewiston, Me.; E. I. Bosworth, Oberlin Theological Seminary, Oberlin, Ohio; W. A. Stevens, Rochester Theological Seminary, Rochester, N. Y.

GENERAL CHAMBER: Professors E. K. Mitchell, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn.; B. L. Hobson, McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago.

A course of lectures on current religious questions will be given on Sunday evenings, commencing with February 14th and extending through May 9th, in Union Park Church, Chicago, of which Rev. F. A. Noble, D.D., is pastor. Several members of the Council of Seventy

will be among the lecturers: Professor James Lewis Hobson, Philosophical Basis of Theology; Professor George B. Foster, The Basis of Theology; Professor Edward T. Harper, Higher Criticism and the Pentateuch; Professor Augustus S. Carrier, Credibility of the Historical Books of the Old Testament; Professor Samuel Ives Curtiss, Prophecy: Object, Scope, and Use; Professor Andrew C. Zenos, Inspiration: How to be Defined and Accepted; President Charles J. Little, The Place of Christ in Modern Thought; Dr. Clyde W. Votaw, New Testament Interpretation as Affected by Recent Studies and Investigations; Professor William D. Mackenzie, Evolution Theories and Christian Doctrine; Professor George H. Gilbert, The Teaching of Jesus in regard to the Hereafter.

The prize examinations in Hebrew, New Testament Greek, and the English Bible, offered to college students annually by the American Institute of Sacred Literature, will take place March 10th. The following colleges have enrolled contestants: Cornell University, University of Denver, Northwestern University, Amherst College, Smith College, University of Wyoming, Bates College, University of New Brunswick, St. Stephens College (Annandale, N. Y.), University of the State of Missouri, Missouri Valley College (Marshall, Mo.), Harvard University, Oberlin College, Bryn Mawr College, Bucknell University, University of Oregon, St. Benedict's College (Atchison, Kan.), Hiram College (Hiram, Ohio), Albion College, Drury College (Springfield, Mo.), Brown University, Gates College (Neligh, Neb.), Shurtleff College (Upper Alton, Ill.), Earlham College (Richmond, Ind.), Franklin and Marshall College (Lancaster, Pa.), Columbia University (New York City), Penn College (Oskaloosa, Iowa), Knox College (Galesburg, Ill.), University of Illinois, Beloit College, Bowdoin College, McMaster University (Toronto), Avalon College (Trenton, Mo.), Tabor College (Tabor, Iowa), Coe College (Cedar Rapids, Iowa), St. John's College (Winfield, Kan.), Yale University.



FIG. 1.—PART OF THE ANTIQUITIES SENT BY MR. PETRIE FROM HIS DISCOVERIES AT THEBES LAST WINTER,
AND NOW IN HASKELL MUSEUM.

Exploration and Discovery.

PROFESSOR PETRIE'S "EGYPTIAN RESEARCH ACCOUNT."

THE readers of the *BIBLICAL WORLD*, who have been following Mr. Petrie's work as chronicled in these pages, will be interested to know that an excellent representative selection of his last winter's "finds" at Thebes has recently arrived at Haskell Oriental Museum of The University of Chicago, where they are now being installed. A brief description of these accessions, with illustrations, is appended below.

In July 1894 Mr. Petrie published a circular organizing the "Egyptian Research Account," a fund for the purpose of carrying on excavations in Egypt by those methods which have made his work so economical and so very successful during a period of fourteen (then twelve) years. How successful that work has continued to be, our readers already know. The *BIBLICAL WORLD* has therefore great pleasure in announcing that it has been appointed by Mr. Petrie to represent his work in America. Bulletins from the field will appear from month to month, with illustrations of the excavations in progress, and subscribers to the enterprise will thus be continually informed of the advance of the work and its more important results. The Chicago Woman's Club last summer appointed a committee which is now in the field securing subscriptions for the E. R. A., as it is coming to be called. This committee is the working force of the CHICAGO SOCIETY OF EGYPTIAN RESEARCH, which will perhaps become one of the local societies in a national organization. Each member subscribing \$5 or upward receives a copy of the annual volume recording the excavations and presenting the results, with explanatory text and scores of plates. This volume is amply worth the above minimum subscription, and at the same time the subscriber is assisting a great archæological work of interest to everyone, but of peculiar interest to the biblical student. The undersigned, at his address, The University of Chicago, will receive the subscriptions of any who are interested in unearthing and bringing to *America* the rapidly disappearing remains of this ancient people, among whom the Hebrews dwelt.

In addition to the historical data, some idea of the *tangible* results

accruing from the work of the E. R. A. may be obtained by a glance at Fig. 1. Above is a good sandstone grave tablet, beneath which are four excellent canopic jars in which were preserved the viscera of the deceased. On the left of these is a rectangular sandstone block, bearing

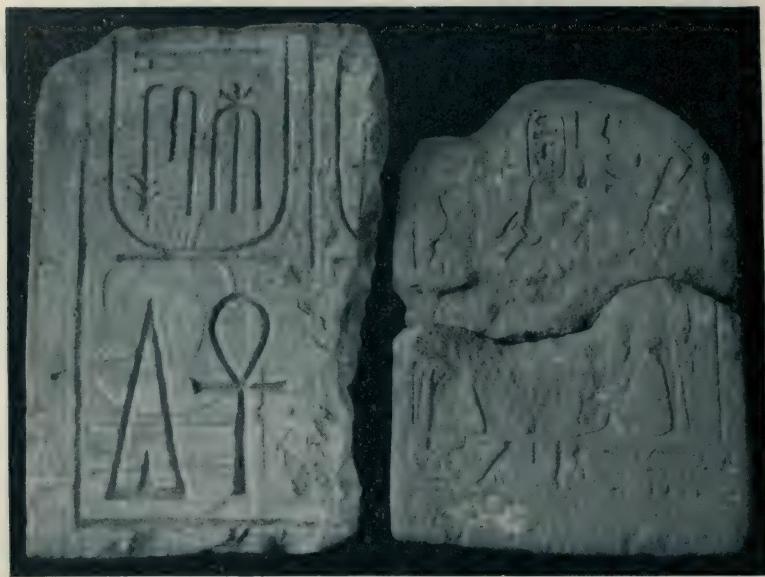


FIG. 2.—A. A SANDSTONE TABLET OF DHUTMOSE IV (XVIIIth DYN.). B. A LIME-STONE BLOCK BEARING THE CARTOUCHE OF RAMSES II (XIXth DYN.) CUT IN OVER RELIEFS OF QUEEN HAT-SHEPSOWET (XVIIIth DYN.).

the double name of Siptah, one of the last kings of the XIXth dynasty. On the right of the jars, a similar block bears the name of the "Chief Treasurer, Bay." Next it is the inscribed base of a black basalt statue, beside which is a sun-dried brick; this and other bricks of the collection are good examples of the sort made by the Israelites, and they bear royal names from the period of the sojourn in Egypt. At the extreme right of this upper line is a box containing 196 ushebtu figures belonging to one person and intended to do his work for him in the next world—a feat accomplished by means of magic. Two interesting pieces occupy the extreme right of the second row; they are enlarged in Fig. 2. *A* is a sandstone tablet representing the King Dhutmose (Thotmes) IV offering an oblation to Amon. It was erected to com-

memorate a victory over Ethiopia, for the line at the bottom states : "Possessor of Cush, the vile, which his majesty captured in his victories." *B* (Fig. 2) is a limestone block from Ramses II's Theban temple, the so-called Ramesseum, inscribed with his name cut in over



FIG. 3.—BRONZE TOOLS AND GLAZES FROM THE FOUNDATION DEPOSIT OF KING SIPTAH (XIXth DYN.).

earlier reliefs of Queen Hat-shepsowet (XVIIIth dynasty), showing that Ramses II stole the block from her neighboring temple of Der-el-bahri. Going back to Fig. 3, the sandstone block just under the four jars, which bears the partially defaced name of Thotmes IV, was likewise plundered by Ramses II from a neighboring building of the former king. At the right of this block is a fine limestone grave tablet of one Beby and his wife Hudedef. Next to the right is a coptic tombstone bearing the cross. At the left end of this same row are two blocks of colored relief, likewise stolen from Queen Hat-shepsowet's temple by Ramses II. Next these on the right is a sandstone fragment bearing the name of Merneptah, who erected the "Israel tablet" discovered by Mr. Petrie (see January BIBLICAL WORLD). In front of this row are spread out many smaller objects which we will not attempt to describe. A number of excellent pieces are ranged upon the floor. At the extreme right are fragments of painted coffins, three rows of good ushebtu figures, and below these two round-top tomb tablets of wood finely painted. Next these, at the right of the middle, is a tall,

narrow limestone block with three lines of text on the front recording the names and titles of a deceased royal secretary, Amon-nekht, and his sister, Tewêremhêb. In the middle is a large sandstone block (three feet, two inches by two feet, three inches) from the tomb of a Theban priest, Zedhutefankh; it bears a fine head of Osiris in the form of a Horus-hawk. Next this block is a splendid bust of the lioness-goddess, Sekhmet, cut in granite and polished. The sandstone fragments at the left of the goddess bear a sun-hymn containing the name of Dhutmose III (XVIIIth dynasty) at the top. On the floor in front are the fragments of a mummy net. Numerous cartonnage fragments of XXI^{id} dynasty coffins are also included in the collection.

In Fig. 3 is a series of objects from the foundation deposits of King Siptah; in the center bronze tools, around these are pottery rings, beads, scarabs, and models of legs of beef, dressed geese, cattle and the like. Similar objects from the foundation deposits of Queen Tau-sert's temple and also of the Ramesseum are in the collection.

Pieces of gold overlay bearing the names of King Siptah and the chief treasurer, Bay, from the foundation deposit of Siptah's temple, are to be seen in Fig. 6.

Many other objects of interest in the collection our space will not permit us to mention.

A letter just received from Mr. Petrie, dated Beni Mazar, December 29, 1896, says: "Here we are only beginning and have as yet tapped Roman stuff alone." Mr. Quibell, Petrie's assistant, is at El-Kab. Much is to be expected from the work of both, and it is to be hoped that everyone will show a substantial interest in this work of recovering the long-forgotten past.

JAMES HENRY BREASTED.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.



FIG. 4.—PIECES OF GOLD OVERLAY BEARING THE NAME OF KING SIPTAH (XIXth DYN.) AND THE CHIEF TREASURER, BAY.

Synopses of Important Articles.

The Predictive Element in Old Testament Prophecy. By PROFESSOR WALTER R. BETTERIDGE. *Bibliotheca Sacra*, January 1897, pp. 50-65.

A true conception of prophecy is necessary to the understanding of Christianity. Revealed religion is dependent upon prophecy, for the prophet is the "organ of revelation." Assuming the divine origin of the religion of the Old and New Testaments, and accepting as the definition of a prophet one who delivers to men the message which he has received from God, two theses are maintained: (1) Prophecy is not, by any means, exclusively prediction. The prophet is a man of his own times and, whether his message relates to the past, present, or future, his primary object is the religious instruction of his contemporaries. But (2) prediction is an essential element of prophecy. It may be questioned whether the modern historical view of the functions of the prophet is not as defective and one-sided as the one which it has displaced. By this theory, the prophet was mainly occupied with the present as a preacher of righteousness, or with the past as an interpreter of the events of history in accordance with his idea of God's dealings with men, the future being referred to only occasionally and incidentally. His predictions are only the result of his clearer understanding of the present and its tendencies, or his deductions from his divinely imparted knowledge of the character of God. But such a theory ignores many important facts which must be taken into account in forming a true conception of the prophetic function. On the testimony of the prophets themselves, prediction is not merely subsidiary, but a prominent and essential part of prophecy. It is not the result of a process of reasoning, but a part of the body of revealed truth. The prophets claimed to be seers. They knew the purposes of Jehovah, not only in regard to their own people but in regard to other nations.

The Old Testament lays special emphasis upon the power of prediction as a characteristic of the true prophet. Deuteronomy distinctly makes the fulfilment of the prophet's predictions the test of his divine commission. Micaiah confidently appeals to this test for confirmation

of his own prophetic character in connection with his prediction of the disaster which should meet Ahab at Ramoth-gilead. Jeremiah and Ezekiel call upon the people to apply the same test to the predictions of themselves and of their rivals, the false prophets.

But it is in the second part of the book of Isaiah that this argument is most emphasized. Jehovah challenges the gods of the nations to compare themselves with him in this respect, and it is in view of their inability to foretell the future, in contrast with Jehovah's own marvelous prophecies, that his superiority must be acknowledged. Upon this same power of prediction the prophet bases his plea to the people to hear the words of Jehovah through himself, and for their refusal to regard this test, his denunciations are most severe. So Zechariah after the captivity bases his claim to the attention of the people upon the fact that the words of the former prophets had overtaken their fathers.

The most obvious, though not the most important, form of prediction consists in the precise foretelling of definite future events. The attempt has been made to destroy the force of such instances by some interpreters who seek to show that predictive prophecy is always general rather than specific, and is mainly the result of shrewd generalizations. But the cases of definite predictions, not only in the records of the earlier prophets as contained in the historical books but also in the distinctively prophetical works, are too numerous and too well attested to be thus explained away. It is impossible to doubt that the prophets were conscious of uttering not "presentiments" but "certainties," revealed to them by the same spirit which was the source of their convictions in regard to religious truth.

Illustrations from the historical books are the signs given by Samuel to Saul (*1 Sam. 10:1-9*), Ahijah's promise to Jeroboam (*1 Kings 11:29*), and the doom pronounced upon the altar at Bethel (*1 Kings 13:1-3*). From the prophetic writings only a few of the many cases of specific prediction are cited. Amos foretells the fate of Amaziah, the priest of Bethel, and later the Assyrian captivity. Isaiah in several instances predicts events which were to occur within a few years and in each case the event follows as predicted. Jeremiah foretells the death of Hananiah within one year, and at least twice predicts the Babylonian exile and declares its duration. Ezekiel in Babylon foresees the siege of Jerusalem and declares that the king shall be taken captive and his eyes put out.

Such instances of specific prediction are sufficient to compel the acknowledgment of the predictive element in prophecy, but they do

not stand alone. All Messianic prophecy in its broad sense, as including all prophecies concerning the completion of the kingdom of God and the redemption and glorification of his people, whether connected with the advent of a personal Messiah or not, is essentially predictive prophecy. The prophecy of a golden age to come is found in all forms of biblical literature, but in its highest beauty Messianic prophecy is confined to the prophetic books. But the depiction of future glory has its darker counterpart which is even more prominent in the prophetic picture of the coming age. All the prophets without exception are heralds of doom. The true conception of the prophetic work includes both phases, the proclamation of future judgment and the description of the reign of peace and righteousness. These two facts form the fixed points of the prophetic conception of the future. Some prophets emphasize one phase and some the other. In Amos the proclamation of doom is the chief feature, in the second part of Isaiah the idea of restoration is the more prominent, but neither wholly overlooks the other side of the picture. Down to the last of the prophets, Malachi, the same two facts are recognized. Without such a recognition on the part of the interpreter a correct understanding of prophecy is impossible. The point of view of the prophet, with his vision of doom and glory, is a necessary condition of appreciation of the picture which he presents.

That prophecy such as has been described forms an important part of the prophetic literature of the Old Testament no one would deny, but modern criticism will never be able to do the prophets full justice until it is willing to accept their own word in regard to the source of their knowledge of the future. The prophet proclaims the approaching judgment not from his conviction that sin must be punished but from divine revelation. So his faith in a future restoration is based upon Jehovah's promises to him rather than upon any process of reasoning from his ideas of Jehovah's character.

This view is not inconsistent with the strictest historical interpretation of the prophet's life and work. He is no less a preacher of righteousness to his own times because his promises of doom or of glory are based upon immediate knowledge of the divine plan for the future.

With regard to the fulfilment of prophecy it may be said that the conclusions already reached are not dependent upon this question. It is probably true that a large part of prophecy has never been fulfilled and never will be, and that the prophets themselves did not

expect a literal fulfilment. Indeed, in many cases the object of the prophecy was to prevent its fulfilment by removing the conditions that called it forth. There is, moreover, an ideal element in prophecy and some predictions are clothed in so highly figurative language that we can hardly suppose that the prophets themselves expected a literal fulfilment. But in many cases it is evident that they did expect a real fulfilment, of some kind, at some time. The fact that they sometimes repeat a prophecy given long before shows that they did not lose faith in its ultimate fulfilment.

But a proper conception of the fulfilment of prophecy cannot be derived from a study of the prophetic writings alone. Much prophecy may be understood only in the light of the New Testament.

C. E. C.

Book Reviews.

A Synopsis of the Gospels in Greek after the Westcott and Hort Text.

By the REV. ARTHUR WRIGHT, M.A. London and New York : Macmillan Co. 1896. 4to, pp. xvi + 168. Price \$2.

The title of this book is not quite accurate. It is in reality a synopsis of the first three gospels with occasional parallels from the fourth gospel. It has been compiled, Mr. Wright says, to assist beginners in the critical study of the gospels; he means apparently of the synoptic gospels; it affords at least no appreciable help for the study of the fourth gospel. In some respects it is excellently adapted to this purpose. To begin with, it is an admirable piece of book manufacture. Paper, type, and binding are all excellent. It has besides some mechanical features, due to the author rather than to printer, which greatly increase its usefulness. Notable among these is its division of the text of the several gospels in parallel passages into lines of such length as to exhibit the parallelism more perfectly. In this respect it has no equal among books of its class. Huck's *Synopsis* has this feature to some extent, but by no means so perfectly as Wright. Even Wright might advantageously have carried it still further. In some other respects the book is less adapted to the uses of the students for whom it was constructed. Instead of printing the gospel material in the order of the evangelists as nearly as is possible (consistently with the construction of a synopsis at all), Mr. Wright breaks the matter up into six divisions, corresponding with what he regards as the sources of the gospels. He does this not simply to exhibit his theory, but expresses himself as particularly confident of the practical utility of the plan. Practically useful it is if Mr. Wright's theory is certainly right, or if the book is to be used for the purpose of testing the theory. But we believe Mr. Wright would have been wiser if, in making a book so beautiful and convenient in certain respects, he had had in mind a larger public. For those who have no theory, or who hold tentatively or decidedly some other theory than Wright's, it would be far more convenient to have the material retained as nearly as possible in the

order of the evangelists, especially as consistently with this Mr. Wright could certainly have devised some way of distinguishing the six sources which he thinks he can discern.

As to Mr. Wright's theory itself, this was expounded some years ago in his book on the *Composition of the Gospels* (1890), and is known to students of the synoptic problem. Its two features, the division of the material into the six sources or classes of sources, and the proposition that these sources as used by the evangelists were mainly oral—catechetical cycles—can be considered quite separately. For the oral character of the sources something is to be said. Apparently we need a still more careful study of the literary method of the first century than has yet been made before we shall have the basis for a final decision of this question.

The other question—the division into sources—is not intrinsically less difficult, but it does seem somewhat less difficult to say whether Mr. Wright's analysis will stand. To this reviewer, at least, it seems certain that it will not. After he leaves the safe ground of Mark's gospel, which constitutes his first source, he proceeds in entirely too mechanical and artificial a fashion, distinguishing his sources quite too much by some mere rule of thumb, such as the presence of the material in one or a certain two of the evangelists, and with too little regard for internal characteristics. He allows, also, more weight than is just to "the great principle which he has made his loadstar," but which he himself admits breaks down in the presence of the facts, viz., that "an evangelist would omit nothing" contained in his sources.

We are glad to add this book to our apparatus for the study of the synoptic problem. No book published in this country or England is so useful for the purpose if we except Rushbrooke's *Synopticon*, the size and costliness of which are a hindrance to its general use. But we wish Mr. Wright had followed more nearly in the footsteps of Huck, only adding some of the mechanical features of this book. As respects the discrimination of the sources we are constrained to believe his work will require revision.

E. D. B.

The Search-Light of St. Hippolytus. By PARKE P. FLOURNOY.
Chicago : F. H. Revell Co. 1896. Pp. 250. Price \$1.

Questions pertaining to the early church, its organization, the authenticity of the Scriptures, the attacks of infidelity and the argu-

ments to meet them, are of perennial and surpassing interest to the average thoughtful person as well as to the critical scholar and the trained thinker. Fortunately for such people there are many books issuing from the press, cheap, fairly accurate, and attractive in style. The book before us is of this class.

Hippolytus' *Philosophoumena; or Refutation of all Heresies*, was discovered in 1842, and published in 1851. It has settled in the negative the question of an infallible papacy. "And not until that discovery and others still more recent, such as Tatian's *Diatessaron* (published in 1888) and the ancient Syriac version of the gospels (found at Mt. Sinai in 1892), was it known how irresistible was the evidence of the genuineness of the New Testament Scriptures."

Provided with these search-lights the author proceeds to an examination of the arguments against Christianity as put forth by Baur, Renan, and others.

Many of his criticisms are acute and telling. Many passages are calculated to awaken the thoughtful attention of Christian people everywhere. For instance, there is one on page 162, the pertness and truthfulness of which cannot be questioned: "The Hegelian philosophy doubtless had much to do with bringing Renan to that atheistic pantheism which took away all reverence and sense of duty, along with all solemnity, from his mind. And that philosophy is robbing many of their faith now, especially in our country and Great Britain. Many of the most attractive teachers are instilling it into receptive minds among college and university students."

The author has a good case and argues it strongly, but unfortunately betrays too often a partisan animus that weakens the effect of his book and will lessen its influence upon the minds of many of those whom he most wishes to influence.

J. W. M.

Geographie des alten Palästina. Von DR. F. BUHL. Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig: Akademische Verlagsbuchhandlung von J. C. B. Mohr. 1896. 8vo, pp. x + 300. M. 6.60.

This volume is the tenth in the series of theological outlines which has become so widely known through Professor Harnack's *Dogmengeschichte*, Professor Cornill's *Alttestamentliche Einleitung*, and Benzing-er's *Hebräische Archäologie*. As might be expected from the author's reputation the new "outline" is thorough and practical. There is no

eloquence, no sparkle of any kind, but a condensed yet reliable statement of facts and probabilities, and that is what the student really needs.

The literature drawn upon covers a very wide range, from ancient inscriptions such as the Tell-el-Amarna tablets, of which considerable use has been made, down to the most recent research, but it is not exhaustive so far as books written in English are concerned. Little if any use, for example, has been made of Conder's *Tent-work in Palestine*, and Tristram's *Natural History of the Bible* seems to have been overlooked. Familiarity with the latter and with an article, revised by the same writer, in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, would have prevented the remark that the ass is used in modern Palestine only by the poor and as a beast of burden. *The Land and the Book* also is missing from the list of works on Palestinian research, although the writings of Buckingham and Irby and Mangles are included.

The book, after a short preface and an introduction of eight pages, is divided into two parts: (1) A geographical description of Palestine (pp. 9-63). (2) The historical geography of Palestine (pp. 64-300). The statements made in the text are accompanied by footnotes giving references, and in some instances additional information.

In discussing the topography of Jerusalem Dr. Buhl agrees with Sir Charles Wilson and Benzinger in locating the Jebusite fortress which was captured by David on the eastern hill. He regards it as demonstrated by the researches of Schick that the line of the second wall ran south and east of the ground now covered by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and that therefore this much controverted site *may* be correct after all.

The Gilgal, from which Elijah went down to Bethel shortly before his translation, is conjecturally identified with some ruins called *Gulegal* a little to the southeast of Askar, near Nablous. This view is urged as "extremely probable." The theory that there were two Bethsaidas—Bethsaida Julias and a Bethsaida nearer Capernaum—is rejected, but it is considered possible that the place mentioned in the gospels may have been a sort of suburb of the half-heathen Julias. Tell Hum is preferred to Khan Minyeh as the site of Capernaum. Notwithstanding the difficulty occasioned by the reference of Josephus to the spring of Capernaum this is still the best solution of the problem that has yet been offered. The claims of Kefr Kenna and Kanat el-galil (as Dr. Buhl spells the name) cannot yet be adjusted. Emmaus is found "with high probability" in Colonije, in which case it must

be assumed that the evangelist has made a mistake as to its distance from Jerusalem. The identification of the home of Mary Magdalene with Mejdel on the western shore of the lake is pronounced questionable, because it is plain, from the Talmud, that there were several places in that district named Magdala or Migdal.

The book is provided with copious indexes, and a good map based on that prepared by Guthe and Fischer, but the use of the latter is needlessly hampered by the adoption of a different method of transliterating Arabic names from that followed in the text. The name, for instance, which is printed in the latter, *Gulegal*, appears in the former as *Dschuledsehil*. It is true that the matter is mentioned in the preface, and in some measure explained, but still the want of uniformity is much to be deplored. There is also a plan of Jerusalem reproduced with a few alterations from that in Benzinger's *Archäologie*, which, in its turn, is borrowed from Baedeker's *Syria and Palestine*. On page 151 is a curious slip: "third century" for "second century," in a reference to Hadrian.

W. TAYLOR SMITH.

Der neuentdeckte Codex Syrus Sinaiticus, untersucht von DR.
KARL HOLZHEY, mit einem vollständigen Verzeichniss der
Varianten des Cod. Sinaiticus und Codex Curetonianus.
München: Verlag der J. J. Leibner'schen Buchhandlung.
1896. 8vo, pp. lix + 89. Price M. 5.

Syriac scholars will find this handsome volume a useful aid to the study of the Lewis codex. The dissertation which occupies the first fifty-nine pages is very comprehensive. Beginning with a short account of the different Syriac versions it treats successively of the nature of the relationship between the newly found text and the Curetonian, of the orthographical, grammatical, lexical and material differences between them, of their relation to the Peshitto, to the different groups represented in Greek textual tradition, and to the *Diatessaron*, and closes with some instructive remarks on the distinctive peculiarities of the new codex and a summary of the results of the inquiry. These results, minus one, are as follows: (1) The two versions (the Lewis codex and the Curetonian, which are denoted respectively by the abbreviations Ss and Sc) are two recensions of one and the same text. (2) In language Ss exhibits peculiarities which approximate to the Jerusalem Lectionary, while Sc approaches the Peshitto. (3) As to subject-matter Ss does not keep so close to the Greek text and the Peshitto as

Sc. (4) The genealogical order of the three texts is : Ss, Sc, Peshitto. (5) Ss contains fewer variants of the so-called "Western" and Codex D text than Sc. (6) Both Ss and Sc exhibit distinct traces of Alexandrian readings. (7) The *Diatessaron* is dependent on Ss. Whether it is later than Sc is uncertain. (8) Both Ss and Sc are orthodox copies, but the author of Ss shows to a certain extent Jewish-Christian views, whilst the author of Sc shows more distinctly Gentile-Christian views. (9) The genealogy in Ss (Matt. 1:1-17) proceeds probably from an Ebionite gospel. Whatever may be thought of these conclusions, and there is wide room for difference of opinion concerning most of them, there can be no question as to the utility of the researches on which they are based. Dr. Holzhey has laid students under great obligations by collecting such a mass of material and issuing it in so clear and compact a form. The comparison, for instance, of more than one hundred texts, as they stand in the *Diatessaron*, with Ss and Sc in three parallel columns, puts before the reader in five pages the results of a laborious investigation. It is much to be regretted that the book was written before the appearance of the volume which completes the publication of the text of the manuscript in so far as it can be deciphered. As the fresh portions include a considerable number of passages common to Ss and Sc, the collation of the two manuscripts which fills considerably more than half the volume is of necessity seriously incomplete.

W. TAYLOR SMITH.

A Cycle of Cathay. W. A. P. MARTIN. Chicago: F. H. Revell Co. 1896. Pp. 464. \$2.

China has not, like Japan, been written to death by visitors on the basis of a few weeks' experience, and has enjoyed at least as much as Japan the attentions of men whose life work has been done there. To this latter class belongs a *Cycle of Cathay*, for Dr. Martin's residence of forty years in China covers two-thirds of the period he describes. While this life forms the thread of the account and is itself notable as the life of probably the most influential foreigner in China during recent decades, the account itself mostly concerns the Chinese, and presents us with one of the most comprehensive, intimate, and just estimates of that very peculiar people. The writer's position as president for thirty years of the Tungwen College in Peking, established for training the Chinese foreign diplomatic corps, brought him into constant contact with mandarins of the highest rank, just the class which no other

writer has been privileged to meet. From this vantage Dr. Martin has been able to give us an illuminating account of political relations between China and the Western powers since 1852, to assign the real but otherwise unknown motives impelling both China and the powers, and therefore to adjudicate on the moral status of each, often, alas, to the disadvantage of the so-called Christian powers. That great damage has hereby been done to the missionary cause, which is inevitably associated by the Chinese with the commercial and political ones, is quite obvious.

Though leaving the missionary ranks after ten years' labor therein for the service of the Chinese government, Dr. Martin continued his missionary work precisely where it seemed to him most needed, namely, in education and in the translation of text-books on international law, physics, and chemistry. "A volume would be needed to show how all kinds of errors in philosophy, religion, and politics hide behind these 'dual forces' and 'five elements.' The power that shakes these pillars will bring down the whole edifice of superstition. It is not a blind Samson that can do it but science with her eyes open." God speed the day when the Christian missionary shall be equipped in addition to his theology, not only with law and physics, but with sociology and hierology (comparative religion), which he will find not less mighty to the pulling down of heathen strongholds. It is plain that Dr. Martin's production must rank with those of Legge, Douglas, Williams, Mayers, A. Smith, Edkins, and Giles as first-rate authorities on the Chinese.

E. B.

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VOLUME IX.

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NUMBER 3

PALESTINE was a great laboratory. For its erection and equipment centuries were taken and the whole world was laid under tribute. Babylon on the one side and Egypt on the other made each its most precious contributions.

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The laboratory was furnished with all the facilities for working out the greatest truths of the greatest science, the truths connected with God and man. Indeed, the laboratory was built in order to furnish opportunity for experiment, and to give instruction in respect to a single problem, and in this problem these greatest truths were involved. It was the question, *How to live*, and this of course included that other question, *How to die*.

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The director of the laboratory had been its architect. He was now to guide the work of investigation and instruction step by step. This architect, this director, this master workman, we may note, was God. Strangely enough, the director thought it best not to show himself in person; but, for the time, to do his work through laboratory assistants, or agents. The pupils, or underworkmen in the laboratory, were carefully selected. It was intended they should follow step by step the directions given; that in the progress of the work, and under a severe and rigid discipline, they should gradually lift themselves from the position of mere novices and

learners to that of coworkers and trained experts. It was expected that they would furnish discoveries of new truth and new formulations of old truth for the use of those who followed them. These pupils, to whom so great an opportunity was given, were the ancient Hebrews.

The problem set before the pupils was, as has been said, the question, *How to live*. They were given the greatest possible freedom, for how, otherwise, could pupils work independently. Again and again mistakes were made, not only by individuals, but also by the whole body; but these failures furnished data, the consideration of which gave unmistakable indication of the direction in which progress could be made. As the work in the laboratory proceeded from time to time, those who followed built upon the results gained by their predecessors. And in the history of the laboratory there were perhaps four or five great periods, each of which was marked by definite advance. After centuries of steady progress the end was secured and the problem of *God and man and life* was solved. It is not to be supposed that the search for the solution of the problem had been limited to this particular laboratory, for it was all the while going on elsewhere. There were, in fact, many laboratories in the world, all of which in some sense were working on the same problem; and there was no laboratory in which earnest and scientific work was done that did not have some contribution to make. In very truth, the director of the Palestinian laboratory was the director of all these laboratories, and in so far as the pupils followed his instructions, progress was made. But in these other laboratories the facilities were not so good, and, besides, the director was not so near at hand; and consequently his messages, though frequently given, were too often misunderstood.

In each of the first four periods, the assistants employed by the director were for the most part of a different character, and each particular group was selected with special reference to the progress which had been made, and the special phase of the problem to be considered in that period.

During the first period the pupils, as may be supposed, had little or no knowledge of the work before them. Their conceptions, so far as they had conceptions, were wrong, and their habits of work, in so far as habits had been formed, hindered instead of helping them. It was, indeed, necessary to use their very misconceptions as a foundation on which to build. The time was therefore occupied chiefly in separating them from others who were not willing to undertake the work proposed, and in adjusting them comfortably to the laboratory. It was thought best to bring them into contact with certain great principles exhibited in elementary form, and allow time gradually to wean them away from their old habits. The more active laboratory assistants in this first period were Moses, Samuel, and David. At the close of this period, the people, though still untrained and very clumsy, were just about ready to begin the study of the great problem assigned them.

In the second period the pupils, having as vantage ground the experience of those who had preceded them, were naturally asked to acquaint themselves more intimately with the director of the laboratory. This was all the more needed because of his necessary absence. Indeed, they had not yet reached the point at which he could give them personal instruction to the best advantage. One may learn most from the teacher whom he knows best. Who was this director? What was he? What was his character? What did he expect of his pupils? What methods did he employ? What would be his policy if the pupils did not perform their duty? These and many other questions essential to any satisfactory kind of work were asked and answered, the answers being adapted to the capacity of the pupils to understand. The assistants who guided the work of this period were the prophets Elijah and Elisha, Amos and Hosea, Isaiah and Micah, with others. These men were compelled by their situation to deal with the pupils *en masse*, and the ideal life which they tried to develop was a national life. Seeing the shortcom-

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THE SECOND
PERIOD

ings of the present, they were continually holding out the promise of an ideal future life for the entire body of workers. It was, however, very general and indefinite.

In the third period a great advance was made, for the idea was conceived that the relationship of the pupils to the director was an individual relationship; that, as a matter of fact, each of the great number was permitted to come into close relationship with him, and that each was responsible for himself. This new idea was announced by a laboratory assistant named Jeremiah, who combined in himself the work and character of a priest, a prophet, and a philosopher. The fact is, the pupils had become insubordinate, and the great mass of them had disobeyed in almost every particular the instructions of the director. This assistant saw that discipline would be needed, and, in truth, within a short time of the announcement of this important doctrine the laboratory was temporarily closed, and all the pupils transported to a very differently constructed laboratory in Babylon. Here a good opportunity was afforded for reflection and thought, and after a period of discipline the pupils were permitted to return. During their sojourn in this laboratory they learned for the first time that their director was the director and likewise the architect of all the world's great laboratories.

The idea of individual responsibility introduced all sorts of delicate and difficult questions, but after that no worker in the laboratory would consent to surrender the individuality which had been gained. In this period the doubts and difficulties were greatly increased because the horizon of the workers was getting wider and wider, and it was found necessary indeed to modify very considerably many of the conceptions which most of them had supposed settled. The laboratory assistants in this period were, for the most part, sages or philosophers; men who expressed themselves in proverbial form or perhaps in a more elaborate poetical address like that of the Book of Job. Some, like Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Deutero-Isaiah, were

*THE THIRD
PERIOD*

prophets; but the prophetic spirit was largely subordinated to the more thoughtful and constructive spirit of the sage.

In the fourth period the work went on as before, but now the workmen, as individuals, seek and find a closer fellowship with the director, though he is still absent. Every means *THE FOURTH PERIOD* is adopted, external and internal, artificial and natural, to bring themselves into contact with him. Some apparently grow farther and farther away; others, without question, came very near to him. And the nearer they came, the nearer seemed to be the solution of the problems on which all had been working. The laboratory assistants in this period were for the most part priests, who formulated an elaborate ceremonial system through which to express their conceptions of how to live in the presence of God; or psalmists, who attained the very heights of spiritual expression in their efforts to describe the soul's communion with the Supreme Being.

In the fifth period, wonderful to relate, the director came in person. He went through the laboratory from end to end.

THE FIFTH PERIOD Many, whom artificial methods of work had blinded, did not recognize him. A few, however, saw at once that it was he. These few he himself instructed, the laboratory assistants being now discharged. The instruction given was clear and definite. That for which they had been searching 1500 years or more was now theirs. The ideal life was lived. This was sufficient. The work for which the laboratory had been founded was now finished. Shall the secret be confined to this one laboratory because in it the discovery was first made? No. The laboratory is abandoned and the great truth towards which all had been working is given broadcast to the world.

Was no record kept of the work done in the laboratory throughout these centuries? no record of the experiments and the failures, of the mistakes made and of the forward steps taken? no account of the struggles and disappointments of the

workmen, no statement concerning the discipline inflicted upon the pupils? Yes. This record, so far as it covers the first four *THE RECORD OF THIS LABORATORY WORK* of the five periods, is the Old Testament. The record of the fifth is in the gospels of the New Testament. The Old Testament is a laboratory notebook kept, under the supervision of the director, by the laboratory assistants whom he employed.

If one would learn how the problem of life was worked out one must go back to the very beginning of this divine experiment, and pick out from the record handed down to us the notes that indicate from time to time the thought of the workmen upon this question which involves God and man and their mutual relationship: the question, How to live, and How to die.

THE APOCALYPTIC TEACHING OF OUR LORD.

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THE views expressed by Wendt, in his *Lehre Jesu*, Vol. I, which are substantially those of Weizsäcker, Pfleiderer, and Weiffenbach, following the lead of Colani, furnish a convenient starting point for our present investigation.

"In the apocalyptic discourse of Mark 13 appear two different and independent compositions, which are yet closely interwoven. In the separation of these two elements, following essentially the lead of Weiffenbach, we find that one is comprised in vss. 1-6, 9b-13, 21-23, 28-29, 32-37; the other in vss. 7-9a, 14-20, 24-27, 30-31" (p. 10). "Each of these compositions by itself presents a connection so closely articulated that one could not fail to perceive it in reading either account in separation from the other" (p. 12). "The evangelist, then, has here made use of two traditions of differing value. The first collection stands in close relation to these teachings of Jesus concerning the future which are preserved for us in another quite trustworthy source, both in respect of the content of the prophecies given to the disciples and in the characteristic that all prophecies serve not in any wise as a satisfaction of curiosity but only as a motive for watchfulness." "We have also good ground for assuming that this collection actually transmits essentially true utterances of Jesus, and may thus hold Mark's source for this part of the discourse to have been a genuine apostolic tradition."

"Concerning the second collection we must judge otherwise. Its expressions find their analogy not in the words elsewhere handed down to us from Jesus, but, both as respects word and thought, in the Jewish and Jewish-Christian apocalyptic literature. We may not then conclude that this small Jewish-Christian apocalypse comes from an authentic apostolic tradition. We are compelled to assume, rather, that Mark was persuaded to its incorporation with the other collection of words handed down to him, because it passed current as representing a genuine prophecy of Jesus. It is difficult to determine from

what time it had its origin. It is possible that it arose at the approach of the Jewish catastrophe at the close of the seventh decade. Possibly, however, it had already appeared in earlier times, and afterwards obtained a peculiar regard because its words were found to have been in agreement with the following events" (pp. 19, 20).

Do the apocalyptic addresses of the gospels substantially represent the genuine utterances of our Lord, or are the portions singled out above to be regarded as interpolated additions from a Jewish or Jewish-Christian source, because out of harmony both with the spirit and form of the remainder of our Lord's utterances on these and kindred topics? It will be our endeavor to show that they are in harmony with our Lord's thought and with his undisputed utterances, and that the theory expressed above is thus unnecessary and unsatisfactory.

For the sake of convenience we present in parallel columns the two collections of words, according to Wendt's division.

FIRST COLLECTION.

- 13 And as he went forth out of the temple one of his disciples saith unto him, Master, behold, what manner of stones and what 2 manner of buildings! And Jesus said unto him, Seest thou these great buildings? there shall not be left here one stone upon another, which shall not be thrown down.
 3 And as he sat on the mount of Olives over against the temple, Peter and James and John and
 4 Andrew asked him privately, Tell us, when shall these things be? and what *shall be* the sign when these things are all about to be
 5 accomplished? And Jesus began to say unto them, Take heed that 6 no man lead you astray. Many shall come in my name, saying, I am *he*; and shall lead many astray.
 21 And then if any man shall say unto you, Lo, here is the Christ; or,
 22 Lo, there; believe *it* not: for there shall arise false Christs and false prophets, and shall shew signs and wonders, that they may lead astray, if possible, the elect.

SECOND COLLECTION.

(The Small Jewish or Jewish-Christian Apocalyptic Discourse.)

- 13 10 And the gospel must first be preached unto all the nations.
 7 And when ye shall hear of wars and rumors of wars, be not troubled: *these things* must needs come to pass; but the end is not yet. For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom: there shall be earthquakes in divers places; there shall be famines: these things are the beginning of travail.
 9 But take ye heed to yourselves:
 14 But when ye see the abomination of desolation standing where he ought not (let him that readeth understand), then let them that are in Judea flee unto the mountains: and let him that is on the housetop not go down, nor enter in, to take anything out of his house:
 16 and let him that is in the field not return back to take his cloke. But woe unto them that are with child and to them that give suck in those 18 days! And pray ye that it be not

FIRST COLLECTION.

- 23 But take ye heed : behold, I have told you all things beforehand.
- 9 For they shall deliver you up to councils ; and in synagogues shall ye be beaten ; and before governors and kings shall ye stand for my sake, for a testimony unto them. And when they lead you to judgment, and deliver you up, be not anxious beforehand what ye shall speak : but whatsoever shall be given you in that hour, that speak ye : for it is not ye that speak, but the Holy Ghost.
- 12 And brother shall deliver up brother to death, and the father his child ; and children shall rise up against parents, and cause them to be put to death.
- 13 And ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake : but he that endureth to the end, the same shall be saved.
- 28 Now from the fig tree learn her parable : when her branch is now become tender, and putteth forth its leaves, ye know that the summer is nigh ; even so ye also, when ye see these things coming to pass, know ye that he is nigh, *even* at the doors. But of that day or that hour knoweth no one, not even the angels in heaven, neither the Son, 33 but the Father. Take ye heed, watch and pray : for ye know not 34 when the time is. *It is as when* a man, sojourning in another country, having left his house, and given authority to his servants, to each one his work, commanded also the porter to watch.
- 35 Watch therefore : for ye know not when the lord of the house cometh, whether at even, or at midnight, or at cockcrowing, or in the morning ; lest coming suddenly he find 36 you sleeping. And what I say unto you I say unto all, Watch.

SECOND COLLECTION.

- 19 in the winter. For those days shall be tribulation, such as there hath not been the like from the beginning of the creation which God created until now, and never 20 shall be. And except the Lord had shortened the days, no flesh would have been saved : but for the elect's sake, whom he chose, he shortened the days.
- 24 But in those days, after that tribulation, the sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her 25 light, and the stars shall be falling from heaven, and the powers that are in the heavens shall be shaken.
- 26 And then shall they see the Son of man coming in clouds with 27 great power and glory. And then shall he send forth the angels, and shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from the uttermost part of the earth to the uttermost part of heaven.
- 30 Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not pass away, until all these things be accomplished.
- 31 Heaven and earth shall pass away : but my words shall not pass away.

The division is certainly ingenious. It will be seen that the first collection confines itself exclusively to generalities, and makes no

endeavor to answer even in form the two separate points of the disciples' confused inquiry,—points of inquiry clearly distinguished by Matthew, and assumed by the narratives in Mark and Luke. That is, either as to the time of the destruction of the temple, or as to the signs attending Christ's coming and the end of the world. All recognition of these two separate inquiries, and all approach to the concrete or the specific in their answer, is relegated to the second collection. The teaching of this so-called later part consists of two main heads, corresponding to the objects of inquiry:

- (1) An approaching tribulation, near at hand.
- (2) A later coming of the Son of Man in clouds and glory, to conduct a world ingathering of his people.

Is it true that these utterances regarding two such tremendous epochs in the history of the kingdom of God find no analogy in words of our Lord spoken at other times? Is there, in our Lord's undoubted speeches recorded elsewhere, no trace of convictions on this subject, whose existence in his mind would argue a probability of his alluding to them when questioned specifically on this very topic? Are such concrete apocalyptic utterances so foreign to his thought and teaching as to make it intrinsically improbable that he would allude to events of such importance when asked categorically concerning them? Did he have any views on these subjects which sprang from knowledge, and if he did, and if elsewhere he gave expression to them to other than his disciples, is it likely that he would studiously conceal them from his closest followers when these very views, elsewhere expressed, were the subject of discussion? For in order to the maintenance of Wendt's contention it would seem to be almost necessary that our Lord was either in willing ignorance of these coming cataclysms, or that he consistently refused to make any deliverance regarding them. If he gave evidence both of knowledge of these coming crises, and of willingness to refer to them in concrete detail, there is ground for the strongest presumption that allusion to them would not be wholly wanting in this prolonged apocalyptic conversation with his disciples.

- (1) Regarding an unparalleled tribulation to fall within the limits of an existing generation. We find other allusions as follows:

Matt. 23: 35, 36: Words addressed to the scribes, Pharisees and lawyers: ". . . that upon you may come all the righteous blood shed on the earth . . . Verily I say unto you, All these things shall come upon this generation."

Luke 11:51: ". . . . that the blood of all the prophets which was shed from the foundation of the world, may be required of this generation; yea, I say unto you, it shall be required of this generation."

Matt. 21:33-44: The parable of the destruction of the wicked husbandmen, concluding with the words, "The kingdom of God shall be taken away from you," etc.

Luke 19:41: Jesus "saw the city and wept over it, saying, The days shall come upon thee when thine enemies shall cast up a bank about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side, and shall dash thee to the ground, and thy children within thee; and they shall not leave in thee one stone upon another."

Luke 23:28: "Jesus said, Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourselves, and for your children. For behold the days are coming, in which they shall say, Blessed are the barren and the wombs that never bare, and the breasts that never gave suck. Then shall they begin to say to the mountains, Fall on us; and to the hills, Cover us."

It is evident, thus, that our Lord knew of the impending destruction of the temple, of the incomparably bitter war that should attend it, and of the ruin of Jerusalem; that he announced against the leaders of the nation impending woes that should be adequate to the punishment of the accumulated crimes of ages, and that he commiserated the women of Jerusalem for their enforced share in this approaching catastrophe; and, further, that he clearly announced these sorrows as close at hand, and destined to smite the generation then upon the earth.

With all this concreteness and explicitness of detail, both of knowledge and of declaration, it seems antecedently improbable that all trace of such knowledge and of the readiness to impart it should disappear when he was questioned by his followers for further information regarding one of these specific utterances.

This probability is much increased when we inquire whether our Lord ever gave any intimation of his knowledge of his own share in the last things, or ever spoke definitely of the fact or the manner of his second appearance on the earth. We now inquire, therefore, whether there are found in our Lord's words any analogies to the passage in this "Jewish-Christian interpolation" which affirm

(2) A coming of the Son of Man in clouds and glory, to conduct a world ingathering of his people by the angels. Such analogies we find, as follows:

John 5:27-29: a specific declaration of his authority, as the Son of Man, to sit in judgment and to call forth righteous and wicked in a final resurrection. "The Father gave him authority to execute judgment because he is the Son of Man. The hour cometh, in which all that are in the tombs shall hear his voice, and shall come forth, . . . unto the resurrection."

Matt. 13:40, 41: "So shall it be in the end of the world. The Son of Man shall send forth his angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all things that cause stumbling, . . . and shall cast them into the furnace of fire. Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father."

Matt. 19:28: "In the regeneration when the Son of Man shall sit on the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit on twelve thrones."

Matt. 25:31, 32: "But when the Son of Man shall come in his glory, and all the angels with him, then shall he sit on the throne of his glory: and before him shall be gathered all the nations."

Mark 8:38: "The Son of Man shall be ashamed of him, when he cometh in the glory of his Father, with the holy angels."

Mark 14:62: "Ye shall see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of power, and coming with the clouds of heaven."

It would appear from the above that our Lord clearly made for himself the claim, at wide variance with *current* apocalyptic ideas, of authority to sit in judgment at the last day, and that he uttered the prophetic statement that he would in fact thus call forth all men to a resurrection of woe or blessedness. He explicitly and repeatedly affirmed that he would come to this earth a second time, attended by the angels, whom he would send out at his own bidding to garner in the just and cast out the wicked; that the Son of Man would one day come in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory, and that all eyes should so behold him.

It would be impossible to find more striking analogies than these, both of thought and expression, to the second part of this interpolated prophecy.

Some of the characteristic phraseology of this discourse, however, regarding the greatness of the tribulation and the signs that should accompany the day of the Lord, finds little analogy in other recorded words of the gospel narratives. Is it therefore necessary to conclude that such expressions are foreign to the thought of our Lord, and must have been introduced from some alien source of Jewish or Jewish-Christian apocalyptic writing? So far from there being need

for any such hypothesis, the imagery made use of is chiefly that of the Old Testament, and could not but have risen spontaneously to our Lord's mind when his thought reached out to those coming crises of which its writers darkly prophesied.

Compare thus :

Isa. 13:9, 10, 13: "Behold, the day of the Lord cometh, For the stars of heaven and the constellations thereof shall not give their light : the sun shall be darkened in his going forth, and the moon shall not cause her light to shine. Therefore I will make the heavens to tremble, and the earth shall be shaken out of her place"

Dan. 12:1: "At that time there shall be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation even to that same time."

Joel 2:10, 30, 31: "The earth quaketh before them ; the heavens tremble ; the sun and the moon are darkened, and the stars withdraw their shining." "And I will show wonders in the heaven and in the earth, blood, and fire, and pillars of smoke. The sun shall be turned into darkness and the moon into blood, before the great and terrible day of the Lord come."

Amos 8:9: "And it shall come to pass in that day, saith the Lord God, that I will cause the sun to go down at noon, and I will darken the earth in the clear day."

The dread prophecies of coming tribulation, and of the signs in the heavens that should herald the great day of the visitation of the Lord, are too often and too variously repeated in the book whose thought and imagery were our Lord's familiar possession to allow room for wonder that they should find a place in his thinking or in his speech.

The foregoing examination has made plain the fact that most of the material of this interpolated section of the apocalyptic discourse recorded by Mark was the undoubted possession of our Lord's mind, both in substance and in form. It is natural, and to be expected, that it should find expression in any prolonged eschatological discourse, especially in one called forth by a sympathetic inquiry as to the very events with which this second and rejected collection concerns itself.

We deem it therefore a fair conclusion that the theory advocated by Wendt and Weiffenbach is not made necessary by any surpassing difficulty in the natural assumption of the genuineness of the discourse.

It cannot be denied that the theory under discussion avoids a difficulty which is only too apparent in the claim for the unity of the apocalyptic addresses in their present form. The two collections of

words as arranged by Wendt are clear, intelligible, and measurably connected in their thought. The discourse as it appears in Mark, on the other hand, concerns itself with two widely separated series of events, which are here blended in an all but inextricable confusion. This confusion, and the obscurity of thought to which it leads, form what is really the strongest argument in favor of a diverse origin for two or more of the constituent parts of the address. Such a hypothesis furnishes a ready explanation for the critical difficulties that lie upon the surface and challenge the attention even of the casual reader. If the discourse be a unity, how are we to account for the puzzling dislocations and inconsequential juxtapositions of its thought? Is there any more natural explanation than the one suggested, viz., that the confusion is the product of the unauthorized blending of two accounts, the one a genuine utterance of our Lord, the other an apocalyptic composition of later date and uncertain origin?

We have endeavored to show already that there is nothing in the material or form of the ideas of the discourse which is foreign to our Lord's thought. There is nothing incongruous or unnatural in holding that any one of its many sentences might have fallen from his lips. It remains to suggest—if there may be suggested—an explanation of the present form of the discourse as a whole which shall be in harmony with the view that the entire collection represents a genuine utterance of our Lord. Such an explanation is readily afforded by the facts:

(1) That the inquiry of the disciples was regarding two widely differing events, separated by unknown reaches of time.

(2) That in current apocalyptic thought these two events were scarcely distinguished in time, and never widely separated.

(3) That the disciples in their own thought confused and combined the two.

(4) That even had our Lord's discourse been scientifically clear in its statements of temporal relations, the force of the disciples' preconceived ideas, and of the universal habit of current thought, would have been sufficient to account for the obscuring of temporal distinctions in the form in which the abbreviated discourse was handed down.

(5) That in point of fact our Lord, in this as in many other matters, was not concerned to controvert popular misconceptions, or to place the events of which he spoke in their exact temporal adjustment, and that his phraseology was readily open to the superficial misunderstanding which, as at other times, he evidently expected and allowed.

The following considerations appear to furnish the natural and

sufficient explanation of the critical and exegetical difficulties which the unmistakable confusion of the present form of the discourse presents.

(1) The inquiry of the disciples was regarding two widely separated events. As Matthew states their question specifically, they replied to our Lord's prediction of the destruction of the temple with the query : "Tell us when shall these things be? and what shall be the sign of thy coming, and of the consummation of the age?" All three forms of the discourse, as recorded by the synoptists, make plain the fact that our Lord's reply took cognizance of these two plainly differing objects of their inquiry,—as to the woes to come upon the city of Jerusalem, and as to the end of the age and the coming in majesty of the Messiah.

(2) In current apocalyptic thought these events were closely associated. The type of apocalyptic teaching regarding these associated events—to which the writers of the pseudepigrapha refer with varying degrees of clearness—is furnished in the book of Daniel. Later writers departed more or less widely from the detail of the Danielic arrangement of the last things, but all followed the general conception there set forth,—of an age of oppression and increasing tribulation, to be terminated by the sudden coming of Jehovah, or his Chosen One, in judgment, for the redemption of his people. The actual destruction of Jerusalem was often involved in this culminating distress, though in some cases it was only from an extremity of misery and danger, falling just short of the destruction of the city, that the Jewish nation were to be rescued by the descent of their King in vengeance.

The familiar prophecies of Daniel represent, under a twofold imagery, the rise of a succession of hostile kingdoms, of which the last was to be most terrible of all and fiercest in its persecution of the saints. From this last kingdom was to arise the anti-Messiah. Of this culmination of evil and of tribulation Daniel says : "And he shall speak words against the Most High, and shall wear out the saints of the Most High. . . . And they shall be given into his hand until a time and times and half a time. But the judgment shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion. . . . And the kingdom and dominion shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High" (Dan. 7: 25, 26, 27). It is the familiar picture of the new age following immediately upon the old age of increasing woe.

Later we have more specific allusion to the same tribulation : "The people of the prince that shall come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary ; and his end shall be with a flood, and even unto the end of the war desolations are determined" (Dan. 9:26). It is alluded to later

in the following words : "At that time . . . there shall be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation even to that same time : and at that time thy people shall be delivered . . . And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake" (Dan. 12:1, 2).

The same idea had been plainly expressed, and rooted in popular thought, by Zechariah : "I will gather all nations against Jerusalem to battle ; and the city shall be taken, . . . and half of the city shall go forth into captivity. . . . Then shall the Lord go forth and fight against those nations. . . . And the Lord my God shall come, and all the holy ones with thee. . . . And the Lord shall be king over all the earth" (Zech. 14:2, 3, 5, 9).

This association of a growing series of disasters and oppressions, to culminate in a misery more bitter than all that had gone before, with an appearance of Jehovah—in the person or through the Messiah—to bring it to an end and usher in a new dispensation, was the common property of nearly all the apocalyptic writers, and of current thought. It was the common belief that the extremity of his people was to be the opportunity of the Messiah ; the time of the acutest need was to bring the long-delayed appearance of the Most High, and the beginning of the new age of a glorified Israel.

Thus we read in the *Assumptio Mosis*, a pseudepigraphic work falling probably within the limits of our Lord's life, and expressing popular hopes with whose utterance he and his disciples must have been familiar :

"What nation of the ungodly has ever had to endure anything equal to what has befallen us? . . . Let us go into a cave . . . and die there (chap. 10). And then will his (the Lord, the God of our fathers) kingdom appear throughout his whole creation. Then will the devil have an end, and sorrow will disappear along with him. For the heavenly one will rise up from his throne. And the earth will tremble, the sun will withhold its light, and the horns of the moon will be broken. For God the Most High will appear, and he will punish the Gentiles. Then wilt thou be happy, O Israel, and God will exalt thee."

It is unnecessary to quote further extracts, which might be multiplied almost indefinitely, to show how this conception of a culminating ruin to be followed closely by the advent of Jehovah, or the Messiah, was rooted in the apocalyptic thought of our Lord's day.

(3) The disciples in their own thought confused these two events. This is simply saying that the disciples shared the current religious conceptions of their age—and there needs no argument to confirm this statement. For them to have distinguished clearly between the

two epochs, of coming tribulation and of coming triumph over all enemies, would have been to have presented a spirituality of conception and clearness of discrimination totally anomalous, unwarranted by anything we learn elsewhere of their mental processes. Edersheim has been at pains to argue that the disciples did not and could not have connected the destruction of Jerusalem with Jesus' own second coming, because they "could not have overlooked" the fact that in the very saying of his that gave rise to their inquiry ("Your house is left unto you desolate. For I say unto you that ye shall not see me henceforth, till ye shall say, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord") Jesus had placed a period of indefinite length between the desolation of the house and their new welcome to him, making such an association of events in their minds impossible.

Such impossibilities are, however, the commonest actualities in the lives of the disciples. It is evident that they did not have any such unprecedented discernment on this occasion, from the fact that at no time in their history did they appreciate the existence of "a period of indefinite length" before the restoration of the kingdom, but that even after his resurrection their inquiry still was, "Wilt thou at this time restore the kingdom unto Israel?"

(4) It is only a corollary of the above to add that, even had our Lord's statement of the temporal relations been scientifically exact and clear, what we know of the unelasticity of the disciples' thought warrants us in supposing that his language would still have been insufficient to override in their minds the universal habit of current thought. When access to their intelligence was barred by preconceived ideas, in the atmosphere of which the disciples had grown up, no amount of explicitness of teaching seems to have been sufficient for their understanding of Jesus' thought. His repeated statements of the coming shame and death were received by them with stolid unintelligence, up to the very hour of his death. Yet the belief in a victorious Messiah was not more deeply rooted in popular imagination than the universal conviction that the final woe and the final vindication of the chosen people were to be conjoined in time.

The undeniable fact of our Lord's death and passion made clear to the disciples their inadequate comprehension of his words regarding these events, but no such irrefutable explanation was ever vouchsafed to them concerning those other words as to the consummation of the age. It is natural, then, since the transmission of our Lord's discourses freely involved the presence of transpositions and elisions according

to the recollection or the didactic purpose of the recorder, that this address should not have retained the original clearness and logical coherence that might have been preserved for us had all its significance been understood by any of his hearers.

(5) But in point of fact it is not probable that our Lord *did* speak with that categorical preciseness of definition in respect to the temporal relation of the different steps of this great progression of the last things which is to be found in the typical chiliastic discourse of our own day. Such was not his method of teaching, even in regard to matters that seem to us to have been of immediate spiritual consequence to his hearers. How much less in regard to matters on which he distinctly refused to speak with clearness, inquiry as to which brought out a rebuke of the disciples' curiosity, and in respect to which he even asserted the limitations of his own knowledge! We may affirm without hesitation that it was not his desire to speak with clearness here. Of the general substance of coming events he spoke in terms whose significance was unmistakable. But any such definition, discrimination, or exact adjustment of the sequence or interrelation of these events, repeated with such insistence and precision as to controvert or override the preconceived ideas of those who listened, would have been opposed to the entire habit of his teaching.

We conclude, therefore, that the discourse as found in the synoptists represents a genuine utterance of our Lord: First, because of the harmony of its teaching with our Lord's thought, and second, because the objection based on the exegetical difficulties presented by its recorded form is abundantly met without recourse to the theory of a composite authorship.¹ //

¹The notable differences between the apocalyptic portions of the gospels and those of pseudepigraphic literature may be reduced to two: (1) the greater simplicity and dignity of the gospel apocalyptic discourses (closely paralleled by the difference in this regard between the canonical and the apocryphal gospels); and (2) the position of dignity assumed by our Lord, as judge in his own right, in sharpest contrast to the uniform assumption of the pseudepigrapha that the final judge is God, not Christ; or God through the Messiah as his representative.

A single but notable exception to this rule is offered by the section of the so-called allegories of the Book of Enoch (secs. 37-72). Authorities are about equally divided, in number, between the assignment of this section to a pre-Christian and a post-Christian origin, but the weight of evidence is undoubtedly for the former. If this conclusion be a correct one, the book anticipates to a remarkable degree our Lord's teaching in these things, and was doubtless well known to him. Nevertheless it does not represent *current* apocalyptic thought, nor does it find a parallel in any pseudepigraphic writing for a century following.

HAVE WE AUTHENTIC PORTRAITS OF ST. PAUL?

By WILLIAM HARRISON BRADLEY,
Chicago.

MANY able Christian writers now agree that both Peter and Paul lived for a time and suffered martyrdom at Rome, where they were known and revered, not alone by the poor, but by many of the rich and powerful of the Roman citizens who accepted their teachings.

At no place or time in the world were portraits of every kind so common as at Rome during the period about the beginning of the Christian era, a century before, and somewhat longer afterwards. From the gods they descended through the rulers and distinguished persons to commoners of every rank, and even artisans, like shoemakers, had their portraits cut upon their tombs. From the earliest times the catacombs were decorated with real or fanciful portraits of apostles, martyrs, and biblical personages. There was no persecution until that of Nero, so that there could have been no fear to prevent some of the many artists of Rome making portraits of Peter and Paul for their friends. That we have none known to have been taken from life is no more remarkable than that we have none of the original manuscripts of the books of the New Testament.

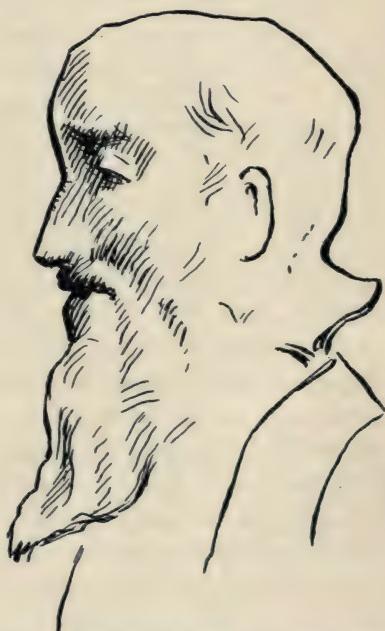


FIG. 1.—REPOUSSÉ WORK OF THE SECOND CENTURY.

A modern writer says of these what would be equally applicable to such portraits: "It does not appear that any special care was taken in the first age to preserve the books of the New Testament from injuries of time, or to insure perfect accuracy of transcription. The original copies seem to have soon perished; and we may perhaps see in this a providential provision against that spirit of superstition which in earlier times converted the symbols of God's redemption into objects of idolatry." That they did exist no one questions.



FIG. 2.—MOSAIC OF THE FOURTH CENTURY.

Most of the methods of portraiture now in use were in use then. In sculpture we have extant of that period statues, busts, and reliefs. A very noteworthy illustration of our subject, as showing that the Christians were portrayed in caricature, was that human figure with an ass's head, on the cross, supposed to represent the Christ, scratched in the fresh plaster on the wall of a room in the palace of the Cæsars in the first century, A. D., and recently found. In color we have mosaics, frescoes, and among these last so many representing paintings framed and hung on the walls of rooms, that doubtless easel paintings were not uncommon at an early day; and from about the middle of the second century come the Græco-Roman portraits, painted on wood panels found in the cemetery at Fayûm, in Egypt. Whatever was done at this date had undoubtedly been much better done at

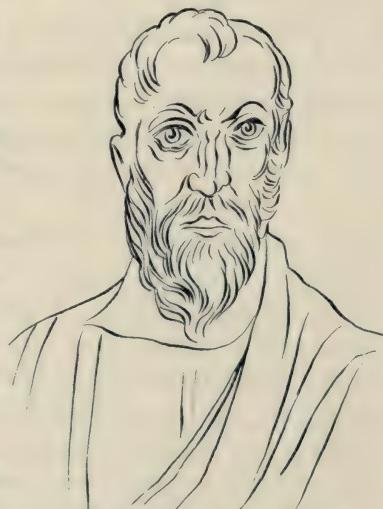


FIG. 3.—MOSAIC AT ROME, 526-530 A. D.

an earlier time, so we can consider their workmanship a step in the descent from the heights of art which had been passed several hundred years before. The constant succession of persecutions up to the fourth century would probably have destroyed all but some small portraits easily carried and hidden, which have since disappeared.

Perhaps the best proof that portraits of the apostles once existed is the succession of portraits extant which have

been made from time to time since

their death, in different places, all of them of the same general type, notwithstanding the depths to which art sank during the Middle Ages. For illustration I have selected from photographs and prints a few that happened to be at hand.

The first (Fig. 1) is a

relief in repoussé work of the second century, found in the catacombs of Domatella. My reproduction is from a cut in one of R. Lanciani's works. According to records quoted by him Flavia Domatella, for whom the catacombs were named, and who was a Christian martyr, was a niece of Vespasian (68 A. D.) and of Domitian (81 A. D.), so that this portrait was probably deposited there during the lifetime of many who knew Paul personally. The house of Pudens, the friend of Paul (2 Tim. 4:21),



FIG. 5.—MOSAIC AT
ROME, 821 A. D.

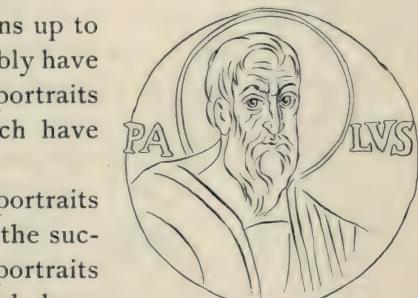


FIG. 4.—MOSAIC FROM RAVENNA,
547 A. D.

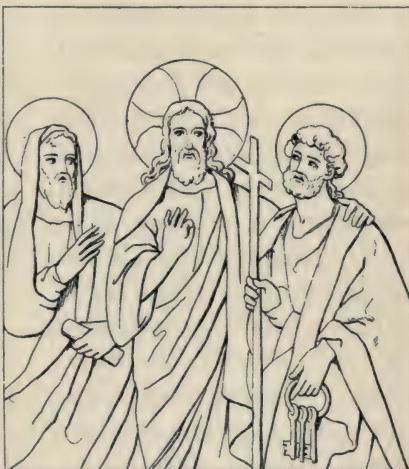


FIG. 6.—MOSAIC OF THE TENTH CENTURY.

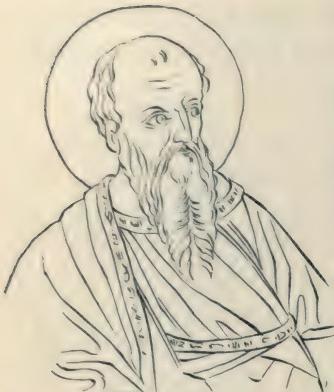


FIG. 7.—WOOD PAINTING, GREEK WORK OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY, OR PERHAPS EARLIER.

made over into a Christian church and dedicated to SS. Cosmo and Damian gives us the next portrait (Fig. 3), a mosaic made A. D. 526–530.

The seat of government of the Western Roman Empire was moved from Rome to Ravenna during the reign of Honorius, and under him and his successors the latter city was filled with handsome churches, among them one dedicated to San Vitale, which was finished in the year A. D. 547. Among its decorations was the mosaic medallion of St. Paul (Fig. 4) reproduced here.

In the church built on the site of the house and to the memory of that charming St. Cecilia is another mosaic of St. Paul (Fig. 5), represented, as is so often the case, with

used probably as a meeting place by the earliest Christians, was certainly an authorized place of worship as early as 150 A. D. and grew into one of the most revered and highly ornamented churches in Rome under the name San Pudentiana. From a photograph of the very fine mosaic still existing in the apse the second illustration (Fig. 2) is taken. It has been retouched, and there has been much discussion as to its age, but it seems to be safe to assign it to the fourth century. The pagan temple



FIG. 8.—FRESCO OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

St. Peter supporting Christ. This portrait was made about A. D. 821. In Fig. 6 we have St. Paul again with St. Peter and Christ, in a mosaic which once adorned the tomb of Otho II, in the old church of St. Peter's at Rome, a work of the last half of the tenth century. The next illustration (Fig. 7) is a head of St. Paul of the Byzantine type from an engraving in D'Agin-court's collection of a painting on wood brought to Rome from Greece about the eleventh century, its actual date unknown. The whole painting represents the two apostles with Christ.

It would make more probable the theory that these faces were copies from paintings of St. Paul taken from life if there were space to give illustrations of the rude artistic work of dates

contemporary with these, which was very far from following nature.

Two of the more modern pictures of Paul may be given: a fresco of the thirteenth century (Fig. 8) in the chapel of St. Sylvester at Rome, and a Greek head (Fig. 9) from a manuscript of the Acts of the Apostles which once belonged to the Queen of Cyprus, and was given by her to Pope Innocent VIII, executed in the fifteenth century or earlier. There is also a group (Fig. 10) by Masaccio, whose frescoes in the Brancacci Chapel at Florence, studied by all those who followed him and copied by even Raphael, were painted A. D. 1420-1430.



FIG. 10.—FRESCO BY MASACCIO, FLORENCE,
FIFTEENTH CENTURY.



FIG. 9.—FROM A
GREEK MS.
Fifteenth Century.

These bring us to a time when portrait painting was again common, and to a series of pictures from which we derive our own ideas for biblical illustrations.

What probability is there, then, that these pictures represent approximately Paul's personal appearance? They seem to be of a common type, and are in accord with the second-century tradition that he was bald-headed, with meeting eyebrows, a prominent nose, and a long, rather thin beard. But the tradition and the pictures can hardly be considered independent witnesses. The question must be left open. There is some probability that they give us an idea of Paul's looks, though this is not certain enough to build upon.

THE ENGLISH BIBLE AND ENGLISH WRITERS.

By CHAUNCEY MARVIN CADY,
Chicago.

*General use of the Bible in literature.—Shakespeare.—Bacon.—Macaulay.
—Ruskin.—Tennyson.—Longfellow.*

EVERY student of English literature or hearer of English speech finds three works or subjects referred to (directly or indirectly), or quoted from, more frequently than others. These are the Bible, the tales of Greek and Roman mythology, and *Æsop's Fables*. (Perhaps a fourth work ought to be added, Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, only that, as Venables has said, Bunyan's English was the English of the Bible.)

The scenes and the characters, wit and wisdom, pathos and humor, strength and beauty of these works are wrought into the very warp and woof of the best of our literature and are the sources of nine-tenths of all illustrations therein. Of these three the Bible furnishes by far the greatest number of references, allusions, and quotations.

Poets and essayists, scientists and critics, historians and philosophers, orators and editors use the Bible with perfect freedom and assurance, knowing that all classes of readers and hearers will catch and at once interpret their meaning, for the book is (or has been) as familiar to the one as to the other.

If our best writers—the writers that touch life and character the most helpfully in the broadest and deepest and highest sense of the word—are to be really understood so as to be appreciatively *enjoyed* by their own countrymen, then it would seem imperative that our children and young people should become more familiar with the Bible than they now seem to be. To miss the point of an allusion, or reference, or quotation, or illustration, through ignorance of their source and connection, is to miss the very highest pleasure of reading. Take from our leading

writings all biblical connection, expunge the Bible from English literature, and you leave a colorless garment.

Take first the greatest of all, Shakespeare. Charles Wordsworth has written quite a large book on Shakespeare's knowledge and use of the Bible, giving references and allusions and quotations made by the poet in thirty-seven plays, a most significant fact when we recall that Shakespeare died in 1616, only four years after King James' Version was published in full. Evidently, as Selkirk has said, the Bible must have been eminently the book after his own heart.

These citations partake of a wide range of spirit, from the somewhat coarse though humorous and pat sayings of Falstaff and the clown to the solemnity of the king in "Hamlet" and Helena in "All's Well that Ends Well."

In "King Henry IV" Falstaff thus addresses the Prince: "Dost thou hear Hal? Thou knowest in the state of innocence Adam fell, and what should poor Jack Falstaff do in the days of villainy?"

In "Merry Wives of Windsor" he explains: "I will tell you; he beat me grievously in the shape of a woman; for in the shape of a man, Master Brook, I fear not Goliath with a weaver's beam; because I know also life is a shuttle." In this last clause there seems to be an allusion to (Job 7:6) "my days are swifter than a weaver's shuttle."

In "All's Well that Ends Well" the clown excuses himself with a humorous twist:

"I am no great Nebuchadnezzar, sir,
I have not much skill in grass."

On the other hand, in "Hamlet," we have the king's remorseful cry:

"O my offense is rank, it smells to heaven;
It hath the primal eldest curse upon 't,
A brother's murder!"

And in "All's Well that Ends Well" Helena, the doctor's daughter, thus argues with the king:

"He that of greatest works is finisher
Oft does them by the weakest minister:

So Holy Writ in babes hath judgment shown,
When judges have been babes, great floods have flown
From simple sources; and great seas have dried,
When miracles by the greatest have been denied."

Here there are five, possibly six, references to five different Bible passages in five lines, so carefully wrought into the fair young doctor's speech as to indicate a striking familiarity with the Scriptures on the part of the poet.

Lord Bacon uses quotations from the Bible or alludes to it with fine effect in a large number of his essays, and several times in some. One writer, J. B. Selkirk, says he found over seventy such references in twenty-four of the essays; and I have little doubt that a number more could be shown.

Take, for example, his happy characterization of usury in the essay entitled "Of Riches:" "Usury is the certainest means of gain, though one of the worst; as that whereby a man doth eat his bread in the sweat of another's face;" or that equally happy characterizing of the difference between Solomon and his son and successor Rehoboam in his essay on "Counsel:" "Solomon's son found the *force* of counsel as his father saw the necessity."

Men of malignant envy, he says, "are not so good as the dogs that licked Lazarus' sores, but like flies that are still buzzing upon anything that is raw."

Lord Macaulay is one of the masters of style and his advice is certainly worthy of respect. In calling upon Lady Holland one day, Lord Macaulay was led to bring the attention of his fair hostess to the fact that the use of the word "talent" to mean *gifts* or *powers* of the mind, or when we speak of men of talent, came from the use of the word in Christ's parable of the talents. In a letter to his sister Hannah he describes the incident and says that Lady Holland was evidently ignorant of the parable. "I did not tell her," he adds, "though I might have done so, that a person who professes to be a critic in the delicacies of the English language ought to have the Bible at his fingers' ends."

Now Lord Macaulay not only preached that every would-be accurate user of English should have the Bible at his fingers'

ends, but practiced what he preached, as his essays abundantly testify. The total number of such examples of use must be many hundreds, for you can find one or more on nearly every page. Perhaps one of the best examples is the following, which is, at the same time, an excellent example of his favorite use of antithesis. Let the reader recall the accounts of the closing scenes in the life of Christ as given by the writers of the gospels and he will notice that Macaulay has done no more than state the facts as there recorded. The passage may be found, by the way, in the essay on "Southey's Colloquies."

"The whole history of Christianity shows that she is in far greater danger of being corrupted by alliance with power than of being crushed by its opposition. Those who thrust temporal sovereignty upon her do but treat her as their prototypes treated her Author. They bow the knee and spit upon her; they cry 'Hail!' and smite her on the cheek; they put a scepter in her hand, but it is a fragile reed; they crown her, but it is with thorns; they cover with purple the wounds which their own hands have inflicted upon her, and inscribe magnificent titles over the cross on which they have fixed her to perish with ignominy and pain."

What sarcasm is expressed in his description of Mill's "Essay on Government!"

"So ends this celebrated essay. And such is this philosophy for which the experience of three thousand years is to be discarded. . . . We are sick, it seems, like the children of Israel, of the objects of our old and legitimate worship. We pine for a new idolatry. All that is costly and all that is ornamental in our intellectual treasures must be delivered up and cast into the furnace—and there comes out this CALF!"

How apt and suggestive his use of the psalmist's vivid and musical words in describing the unsystematic productiveness of Bentham, the philosopher: "The fertility of his mind resembled the fertility of those vast American wildernesses in which blossoms and decays a rich but unprofitable vegetation 'wherewith the reaper filleth not his hand, neither he that bindeth up the sheaves his bosom.'"

Several hours could be filled in merely reading such passages, so plentifully are they sprinkled through all his writings.

But of all the English writers, so far as I am aware, John Ruskin is the one whose use of the Bible is most frequent and telling. His works are fairly *saturated* with biblical phrases and sentences.

Take a colored pencil and, when you read your Ruskin, mark, say with red, all words, phrases, and passages evidently taken from the Bible, all allusions and all direct references, as well as actual and formal citations, and I think you will be astonished, so luminous will the pages become.

However we may view Ruskin's opinions as an art critic, a critic of life, a poet, a political economist, a philanthropist, or as a writer on things in general, no one can deny his superiority as a writer of English, but surely no small part of that charm and force and mastery comes from his marvelous use of the English Bible. Our wonder at the exceeding richness and beauty, the singular power of Bible diction and imagery in his hands, is partly explained on reading of his early training in the Bible. His mother, he tells us, was accustomed to drill him every day in reading or reciting the Bible, from the first verse of Genesis right through to the end of Revelation, over and over, from the time he could read at all till he went to Oxford. "To that discipline," he says, "I owe the best part of my taste in literature, and, once knowing the Bible, it was not possible for me to write superficial and formal English."

In reading this last sentence one is reminded of similar testimony from two other great masters of style, who were at once great artists and critics, men that are widely recognized as having left as deep marks upon modern thought as have been made by any other two minds.

Coleridge, in his *Table-Talk*, June 14, 1830, said: "Intense study of the Bible will keep any writer from being *vulgar* in point of style."

Goethe wrote: "It is a belief in the Bible which has served me as the guide of my literary life. I have found it a capital safely invested and richly productive of interest."

With Ruskin it is difficult to select from the very abundance of the material at hand, but let me give a passage that will illustrate what I have said, that his writings are fairly *saturated* with biblical phrases and sentences. I wish that these might be printed in red, but I will italicize them and the reader can hunt them down at his leisure.

This eloquent passage is found, I may say, in *Modern Painters*, Vol. IV, Part 5, chapter 19.

Mr. Ruskin has been speaking of mountain gloom "as it bears witness to the error of human choice, even when the nature of good and evil is most definitely set before it." To illustrate this he says: "*The trees of paradise were fair, but our first parents hid themselves from God in the midst of the trees of the garden.* The hills were ordained for the help of man, but instead of *raising his eyes to the hills, from whence cometh his help,* he does his idol sacrifice upon every high hill and under every green tree. *The mountain of the Lord's house is established above the hills;* but Nadab and Abihu shall see under his feet the body of heaven in his clearness, and yet go down to kindle the censer against their own souls. And so to the end of time it will be; to the end that cry will still be heard along the Alpine winds, '*Hear, oh ye mountains, the Lord's controversy!*' Still, their gulfs of thawless ice and unretarded roar of tormented waves, deathful falls of fruitless waste, and unredeemed decay, must be the image of souls of those who have chosen the darkness, and whose cry shall be to the mountains to fall on them and to the hills to cover them; and still to the end of time, the clear waters of unfailing springs and the white pasture lilies in their clothed multitude, and the abiding of the burning peaks in their nearness to the open heavens, shall be the types and the blessings of those who have chosen light, and of whom it is written, '*The mountains shall bring peace to the people, and the little hills righteousness.*'"

In that marvelously suggestive lecture on the Mystery of Life and its Arts, published as Lecture III in his *Sesame and Lilies*, Ruskin touches, as only he can touch, that great mystery that is now all about us, the mystery of human want and hunger and misery. Who that reads those glowing, throbbing pages

fails to feel that the climaxes are reached in the quotations at the close of the sections on weaving, building, and education, "I was naked and ye clothed me not," "I was a stranger and ye took me not in," and "For the greatest of these is charity."

I have left myself no space to let Burke and Webster and Lincoln speak. We all know with what effect those great movers of men appealed to the highest in man through the words of Holy Writ. Some of us, indeed, may have heard Lincoln open his first famous campaign "with a memorable saying which sounded like a shout from the watch-tower of history : 'A house divided against itself cannot stand ;' I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free." I must not dwell on the prose writers, but notice briefly two or three of the most widely read of our modern poets, though we might take a score or more.

The two Brownings are replete with the Bible. There are over one hundred such uses in *Aurora Leigh* alone.

Lord Tennyson is another writer whose oft-repeated use of the Bible reveals what a marked influence it has had on him as an author.

Tennyson's felicitous use of phrases and even entire sentences is a striking proof that the prose of the Bible easily lends itself not merely to the loftiest styles of English prose and speech, but also to the most melodious of English poetry.

For evidence of this I refer the reader to George Lester's book, *Lord Tennyson and the Bible*, or to *The Poetry of Tennyson*, by H. Van Dyke, D.D., in the former of which something like 450 examples are given.

With one more example this article must close.

Longfellow, perhaps the most uniformly musical of poets, at least in pure or simple melody, fully equals, if indeed he does not surpass, Tennyson both in the number and in the felicity of his uses of the Bible.

Take but three examples, his last dedicatory sonnet to the "Divina Commedia," his sonnet entitled "Moods," and the Epilogue to the "New England Tragedies," and notice that while the language of the Bible readily falls into the rhythm of Eng-

lish verse it also yields as easily to the demands of the most melodious rhyme.

The following are the verses and parts of verses — in the second chapter of Acts — which contain the words, phrases, and sentences so beautifully fused together in the last six lines of the sonnet :

"And suddenly there came from heaven a sound as of the rushing of a mighty wind and it filled all the house. . . . Now there were dwelling at Jerusalem Jews, devout men from every nation under heaven. And . . . every man heard them speak in his own language, strangers from Rome . . . and proselytes . . . and they were all amazed and in doubt."

Longfellow thus addresses Dante :

"Thy fame is blown abroad from all the heights,
Through all the nations, and a sound is heard
As of a mighty wind, and men devout,
Strangers of Rome and the new proselytes,
In their own language hear thy wondrous word,
And many are amazed and many doubt."

In the second sonnet the poet has used those profoundly significant words of the Christ to the man of the Pharisees named Nicodemus :

"The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but knowest not whence it cometh and whither it goeth."

The last six lines of the sonnet read :

"Alas ! not always doth the breath of song
Breathe on us. It is like the wind that bloweth
At its own sweet will, not ours, nor tarries long ;
We hear the sound thereof, but no man knoweth
From whence it comes, so sudden and swift and strong,
Nor whither in its wayward course it goeth."

The Finale in the "New England Tragedies" is crowded with biblical language and allusions. I will give only the last third :

"Not he that repeateth the name,
But he that doeth the will !
And him evermore I behold
Walking in Galilee,
Through the cornfield's waving gold,

In hamlet, in wood, and in wold,
By the shores of the Beautiful Sea.
He toucheth the sightless eyes ;
Before him the demons flee ;
To the dead he sayeth : ‘ Arise ! ’
To the living : ‘ Follow me ! ’
And that voice still soundeth on
From the centuries that are gone
To the centuries that shall be !

From all vain pomps and shows,
From the pride that overflows,
And the false conceits of men ;
From all the narrow rules
And subtleties of schools,
And craft of tongue and pen ;
Bewildered in its search,
Bewildered with the cry :
Lo, here ! lo, there, the Church !
Poor, sad Humanity
Through all the dust and heat
Turns back with bleeding feet,
By the weary road it came,
Unto the simple thought
By the Great Master taught,
And that remaineth still :
Not he that repeateth the name,
But he that doeth the will.”

Aids to Bible Readers.

THE FORESHADOWINGS OF THE CHRIST. IV.

By GEORGE S. GOODSPEED,
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Summary of foreshadowings already remarked.—The age of Isaiah, its historical events.—The essential elements in his outlook.—(1) Deliverance.—(2) Permanence of Zion.—(3) Peace.—Conclusions as to the foreshadowings in Isaiah.

V. FORESHADOWINGS FROM THE TIMES OF ISAIAH.]

In beginning the study of the contributions to the doctrine of the future made by one of the greatest of Israel's prophets, it is desirable to gather up and recall those teachings of the future which have been presented in respect to the earlier periods of Israel's history. Gathered together in a somewhat summary and general fashion, these may be stated as follows:

1. The foreshadowings have gathered about the land in which the nation is to dwell; its fertility is abundant; its prosperity is assured.
2. The nation which is to dwell in that favored land is a chosen nation—one whose origin is of divine selection, and whose prospects are therefore full of hope. It is to be a people whom God shall particularly cherish, that it in turn may be the medium of universal blessing. It is to be a righteous nation. It is to be a conquering nation, going forth to victory until all the world shall own its sway. Its leaders are God-appointed and divinely disciplined for their work.
3. Its institutions are divinely ordered, and of special and peculiar significance and permanence,—the priesthood, the prophetic order, the monarchy. Each is pictured in glowing colors; each has a splendid outlook; each is to be the channel of unspeakably important blessing to mankind.
4. Behind and through nation and institutions appears Jehovah, the source and strength of them all. He is to dwell with the nation; his advent and presence are the seal of all the promises and the promise of something greater than all.

5. New light had been thrown upon the future by the teachings of the prophets Amos and Hosea. To them the advent of Jehovah was one which betokened judgment rather than blessing. Emphasizing as they did the justice of Jehovah, they opened the way for the doctrine of his activity in judgment, not merely upon all others who were unrighteous, but also upon faithless Israel. Yet the harmony of the Jehovah of the past, characterized by his care and devotion to his chosen, with the Jehovah of the present, the just avenger of wrong wherever committed, was accomplished by Hosea through the firm conviction that the punishment was one of love, that the love which punished was still love, and therefore that forgiveness and restoration would follow. How this would be accomplished, and when, they did not clearly show.

I. *The historical situation.*—It is at this point that the prophecy of Isaiah takes up the problems of Israel's future. His prophetic activity gathers about two great periods :

1. The decline and fall of northern Israel with the accompanying political crisis in Judah in the reign of Ahaz (about 732 B. C.); and
2. The period of the invasion of Sennacherib, king of Assyria (B. C. 701).

The earlier prophets had already begun to recognize the tremendous significance of the king of Assyria as a factor in the life of western Asia, and had sought to interpret it in the light of their faith. In the year 743 B. C. Tiglath-pileser III began that series of western expeditions which sealed the fate of Syria. In this campaign the objective point was the city of Arpad, the key of central Syria. In 738 came the overthrow of the coalition centering about Hamath, at which time the Syrian states, including Damascus under its king Rezon and Israel under Menahem, sent tribute. By 735 the two kings are in revolt and join in an endeavor to overthrow the king of Judah, apparently with the purpose of compelling the alliance of Judah in the struggle against Assyria. Isaiah had already begun his prophetic work. His call as it is recorded in the sixth chapter has been dated in 737, and his sermons in chapters 2 to 5 follow within the next year or two. In connection with the war of defense against Syria and Israel he utters a series of prophecies which we find in chapters 7:1—9:7. The episode and declarations made here present Isaiah's person and purpose most clearly before us. In the midst of the frantic endeavors of the nations of western Asia to preserve their

existence as over against the Assyrian, and over against their petty feuds with one another, Isaiah calls for a different policy. Judah need not fear, either from Israel or from Damascus. Assyria will attend to them before long. Nor, on the other hand, need they whose God is Jehovah seek for protection with the Assyrian. In Isaiah's prophetic vision, to become involved with the great nation of the Tigris is not only to evidence want of faith in Jehovah, but also to incur all the misfortunes and disasters that accompany the supremacy of Assyria. If Judah will be content in reliance upon its God to keep clear of all foreign complications and to live in quietness, prosperity and peace will be its portion. This is the prophet's programme. But the king has already committed himself to the opposite policy. The Assyrian, therefore, as Isaiah sees, will certainly come and desolate the country, bringing privation, darkness, and destruction in his train.

During the thirty years that followed the Syro-Ephraimitish war a new antagonist of Assyrian oppression came upon the scene in the person of the Ethiopian king of Egypt, who intrigued with the subject nations of the West to induce them to throw off the yoke of Assyria and unite with Egypt in war with the nation on the Tigris. Unfortunately Egyptian promises were not fulfilled. The Ethiopian armies were no match for the Assyrian. The rebellious nations, relying on Egypt, were put down with a strong hand and with cruel punishment. Western Asia was a scene of turmoil. As one outcome of it the kingdom of northern Israel perished in 722 B. C. and its people were deported to the far East. Several Assyrian expeditions advanced to the very border of Egypt and severely punished rebellious Philistine cities.

Isaiah has left few memorials of his work during this time. He seems to have succeeded in holding Judah under Ahaz and under his son and successor, Hezekiah, to allegiance to the Assyrian. Chapter 28 appears to belong some time before 722 B. C. Chapter 20, dated somewhere about 711 B. C., illustrates a characteristic prophetic mode of enforcing truth and reveals Isaiah's insight into the folly of trusting to Egypt for help. It may be that in this period the events occurred which are narrated in chapters 38 and 39. If so, Hezekiah entered into an alliance with the Chaldaean usurper in Babylonia, Merodach-baladan, and may have had to suffer with other rebels when Sargon brilliantly overcame all enemies in East and West. This invasion and punishment of Judah will have occurred in 711 B. C., and there are those who have assigned Isaiah's sermons in chapters 10, 11, 12, and 22 to this date. The evidence, however, is not sufficient to prove the fact of Sargon's

attack upon Judah, and these chapters more probably belong to a later period.

But even the genius and persuasion of the great prophet were not at last able to hold the somewhat weak king faithful to his oath against the pressure of the Egyptizers at his court. There is a change of rulers on the throne of Assyria—a signal for revolts in the dependencies. Egypt redoubles her efforts and Hezekiah yields. Unknown to Isaiah, but not unsuspected by him, a secret treaty is arranged with the Egyptian king. The yoke of Assyria is thrown off. What Isaiah thinks of the move may be read in chapters 29 to 32, which were delivered in or before 702 B. C. They have abandoned his policy of trust in Jehovah and quietness; they are depending on a broken reed in relying on Egypt; the devices of the politicians are well known to Jehovah though they seek to conceal them with all cunning; a terrible humiliation shall fall upon the city and nation as the outcome of all this folly.

Sennacherib came in 701 B. C. His onward march is pictured by the prophet in the brilliant description of the tenth chapter. In chapters 18 and 22 the terrible situation in Judah is also described. Just what Sennacherib's maneuvers were in his advance to the border of Egypt cannot be clearly made out from the varying accounts given in the Old Testament and the Assyrian texts. He certainly received the submission of Hezekiah, who purchased the sparing of Jerusalem with a great tribute. Then marching southward he felt the danger of leaving so important a place in the hands of a vassal of whose fidelity he could not be sure, and therefore, apparently in violation of his agreement, demanded the surrender of Jerusalem, sending a detachment of his army to secure it. The consternation which this move caused in Jerusalem is described in chapters 36 and 37, as well as the heroic stand of the prophet and the marvelous outcome. The thirty-third chapter has preserved a sermon which discloses Isaiah's view of the situation. Assyria, which is the rod in the hands of Jehovah, has forfeited its place by treachery, and Jehovah shall certainly destroy it and his people shall be protected and preserved.

II. *His view of the future.*—It is evident from this review of his work that Isaiah was profoundly interested in the political life of his nation, and played a large part in it. He lived in a time of great political disturbance. His place was in the court circle at Jerusalem. Like Elijah and Elisha before him, and like Samuel, the founder of

the prophetic order and office, he was a statesman. The religious truths which he preached were adapted to the political exigencies of the national life. If ever a prophet was intimately and entirely alive to the demands and tendencies of his own state and times, that prophet was Isaiah. It was in considering the future of the people of his day that visions rose before him which after generations have cherished, and which Christianity has been able to incorporate into its higher revelation.

His contributions to the subject that concerns us, therefore, are not only primarily national, but they take their special direction by reason of the strenuous and stirring age in which Isaiah found himself. They may be gathered up under three words : Isaiah declared that from all her difficulties and distresses occasioned by nations on every side Judah would surely obtain *deliverance*; he was assured in every circumstance, however dark, of the *permanence* of Zion ; he looked forward after the struggle was over to a glorious age of *peace*.

1. Isaiah's doctrine of *deliverance* occupies naturally a large place in his utterances, for in the face of the nearer approach of the Assyrian, deliverance was the one thing which could encourage the nation.

(a) In his thought it comes primarily through Jehovah. One finds this aspect of it in every sermon. In this there is little more than what is offered by Amos and Hosea. An important phase of Isaiah's conception of this truth, however, is that to him the deliverance which Jehovah grants is seen in *affliction and disaster*. To the earlier prophet disaster means the vengeance of Jehovah upon sinners, and that being past, the brighter days will come. But Isaiah declares (perhaps not with entire understanding of the import and scope of his statements) that Jehovah saves in the punishment ; that he is as really present to deliver in the calamity as he will appear after the calamity to restore and to bless. This might be said to be the first emergence of the higher Hebrew conception of the significance of suffering which reaches its culmination in the mind of the author of Job, and in the unknown writer of the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah. It is worth while to stop and observe the various shades of this conception of the prophet. In 4:2 it is in the very day of the humiliation of the people described in chapter 3 that the land is in reality most prosperous and fruitful. The appearance of the symbolical name of Immanuel in 7:14 and 8:8 is coexistent with the dark and desolate experiences of Assyrian invasion. "God is with us," not after these pass away, but in them. In 9:1-2 she that is in anguish is at the same time not in

gloom. They that walk in darkness see also a great light. The experiences are contemporaneous. The same doctrine lies beneath the various statements of the reversal of human conditions accompanied with blessing therein; so in 30:14, 17-21 Jehovah is to do a marvelous work in order to manifest his presence. It is, however, not merely a work of punishment, falling upon those who are evil, but the new conditions are to be felt as beneficent and glorious, though ordinarily they would be regarded as lamentable (*cf.* also 33:15-20). The doctrine appears in the most definite form in 30:20-21; there the adversity produces insight and piety.

(b) Another instrument of deliverance is seen by Isaiah to lie in the human sphere. His close relations, social and political, to the monarchy appear in his teaching that by it Jehovah will save the state. This interest in the monarchy he shares, as we have seen, with earlier teachers, and he offers nothing new or original in that respect; so, for example, in 32:1, 2. In 33:17 and perhaps in 28:16 he teaches hardly more than this. To him also the line of David is the true source of deliverance and blessing. With the sprout of Jesse in 11:1-5 the bright future is connected. Micah, his contemporary, develops the same thought in bringing the future King and Saviour from the old Davidic home (Micah 5:2-5).

A peculiar development of these general thoughts of Isaiah is, however, seen in the so-called "child prophecies," 7:14-19; 9:6, 7.¹ In the brilliant picture of chapter 9 the child who occupies the throne of David is to overthrow the enemy and to rule forever and ever. The names which are given to him describe a personage more glorious than any prophet has hitherto mentioned, except perhaps the writer of Psalm 45. Whether the famous Immanuel passages, 7:14-17; 8:8, are to be interpreted in the light of this passage as being the preliminary essays toward this more fully developed conception, or whether the child there mentioned merely offered to the prophet a convenient mark of time and symbol of the great new truth of "God with us" in the hour of darkness and disaster, is a question. The passages, strictly speaking, seem to favor the latter view. There is no definite reference in them to this child Immanuel as the instrument of deliverance.

¹ Isaiah 11:1-5 is included sometimes in these prophecies. It does not seem to us altogether clear that the term "child prophecy" ought to be applied to the latter passage, nor is the usual interpretation of 7:14-19, which makes "Immanuel" a deliverer, one which commends itself altogether to us. See, however, the article, "The Child Prophecies of Isaiah," by William R. Harper, in the BIBLICAL WORLD, December 1896.

Which of these two conceptions of deliverance, through Jehovah or through a human instrument, was predominant in Isaiah's mind is an interesting question, but one on which not very satisfactory light can be thrown. It is, of course, true that they are intimately related, since the human deliverer is only an instrument in the hand of Jehovah, revealing his power. Yet it is significant that the "child prophecies" gather about the earlier nucleus of Isaiah's prophetic activity in B. C. 732, while the conception of Jehovah as the source of blessing and hope is the persistent one in both periods, and especially prominent in the sermons preached during the Sennacherib crisis.

2. In the contribution of Isaiah to the doctrine of the *permanence* of the nation and its institutions, especially the religious foundations, there is also nothing essentially new; but the conceptions are more detailed and more definitely presented. It is remarkable how this notion that Zion will endure, that Jerusalem is not to perish, persists throughout all the prophet's career. It appears in one of his earliest prophecies, 2 : 2-4. It is involved, indeed, in his call, 6 : 13. In his last sermon it is maintained in a most glowing picture, 33 : 20-22. Connected with it is, of course, the idea of the permanence of the monarchy in passages of which a typical one is 9 : 7. In 4 : 5 Jehovah is to reveal himself in Zion in fire and cloud, and to spread over her a canopy for protection. In connection with the invasion of Sennacherib, 31 : 4, 5, the prophet teaches that Jehovah of hosts will come down to fight upon Mount Zion and will protect Jerusalem, deliver it, and preserve it. And in 33 : 13-24 the onset of the enemy has been repulsed, his armies have disappeared, and there rises before the vision of the prophet the Holy City, quiet, permanent, in which the majesty of Jehovah shall be revealed, where they divide the spoil, where all sickness has passed away. Psalms 46 and 48 are filled with the same thought. Whether written before or after the critical moment of Jerusalem's deliverance, they disclose the profound conviction that Jerusalem shall never be destroyed.

In working out the practical details of this permanence of the nation, Isaiah reached one of his most characteristic doctrines, that of *the remnant*. Here, again, he built upon his predecessors. Amos, 9 : 9, speaks of grain scattered amid the national chaff, and suggests that it has been preserved to be the seed of a new harvest; but his outlook is indefinite and general, as, indeed, are certain passages of Isaiah on the same subject. That the idea was most important to Isaiah appears from the fact that it takes shape in his call, chapter 6,

and that one of his sons was named "a remnant shall return." Again and again reference is made to it in his sermons. There are two points in which he practically contributes to the doctrine: (*a*) The punishment which the nation is certain to suffer is to draw out, to assist in forming, such a remnant. It is to be made up, not only of those who abide faithful in the midst of general corruption, but also of those who, by the evidence of the divine wrath and vengeance, shall be turned from their evil ways unto Jehovah. The punishment, therefore, is a divine blessing, since, in all these respects, it clears the way and prepares a nucleus for the revelation of the true Israel. (*b*) Isaiah is not merely content to announce that such a remnant exists, which will be the nucleus of the future nation, but in his practical way he sets about preparing it. The passage, 8:16-18, is very significant in this connection. There have been those who have held that here is the beginning of the idea of the church, the body of selected believers. Without going so far as this we may see, in this new move of Isaiah, the first of those endeavors to realize in a particular age of the world the union of the more devoted and faithful of the people of God for the preservation of his truth, and for the spreading abroad of the knowledge of his name.

3. All the seers of Israel look forward out of their present, whether gloomy or bright, to a golden age of *peace*. Isaiah is no exception. He, like them, sees this new epoch accompanied by immensely increased fertility in the sphere of nature. The land of Palestine is to be the favored land of all the earth, and there the nation is to dwell in prosperity and peace. His own experience and observation, in the light of the times in which he lived and worked, determines for him more definite details of his own picture. The greatness of the oriental monarchies on the Tigris and the Nile were manifest to him as not to those who preceded him, and he perceived the comparative insignificance of the kingdom of Judah from the point of view of material resources. This perception determines the form of his vision of the future. To him Israel is not to be a nation conquering the world and ruling all nations with a rod of iron by the might of victorious armies. It will be delivered, indeed, from the tyranny of the enemy, however great his power may seem to be, but the peace which is to ensue is to be mediated through the efforts of God's people as teachers of the nations. This is the profound significance of that which stands in the forefront of the prophet's sermons, 2:2-4. To the purified land swept clean of its enemies, to Mount Zion where Jehovah dwells, the

nations of the earth will come to learn his law, to accept his judgments, and as the result profound peace shall reign. Nowhere does Isaiah reveal his prophetic insight more clearly or gloriously than in the prospect he holds forth in 19:19-25, where Egypt and Assyria, the great antagonists of the people of God, shall be joined together with Israel in holy alliance. "In that day shall Israel be third, with Egypt and Assyria, a blessing in the midst of the earth."

III. *Conclusion.*—The following conclusions may be considered:

1. Isaiah's view of the future was supremely *national*. The essential element is the permanence of the state. This is both an advantage and a defect. It narrows his outlook, but at the same time it increases the intensity with which he realizes the future. It gives an outwardness to all his ideals, while it makes more vivid the colors in which they are presented. He had clear insight into the sins that affected the body politic and assailed them with irresistible force. The ideal of salvation was a purification involving the removal of social and political corruption. Law should prevail, justice should be done. A righteous state should come into being.

2. The future was bound up with the continuance and glorification of the *monarchy*. The line of David shall sit upon the throne and rule in righteousness and peace. We seem to be taken back to the days of united Israel. The dark prospect held forth by Amos and Hosea, who say so little about monarchy, is gone. This is again a limitation of Isaiah's vision. The prophetic order, the priesthood, have no place except as they are a part of the state and instruments of the throne. But the limitation is offset by the most splendid picture of the future monarch that prophet ever gave.

3. The days that are to come are days when *righteousness* shall prevail. The prophet's soul is aflame with this thought. Jehovah is for him the "Holy One of Israel." The present constitution of things must be shattered because it is corrupt. The remnant that shall come forth is to be holy. Nation and ruler shall have their right to be by virtue of revealing and exercising justice. The future world shall be organized around that principle.

4. Closely knit as are all these general attitudes of mind and this insight into realities to the elements of the life in which the prophet found himself, it is perfectly evident that he *transcended these* in his magnificent visions. He himself supplied, out of the hidden depths of his own communion with the Holy and Majestic One, a foreign, a

higher element. Throughout his long ministry he cherished and developed these greater expectations. Disappointed he doubtless was by the slow and painful progress which they seemed to make in the world, yet he never despaired. These visions embodied eternal realities for whose fulfilment ages were needed. Their form was temporal, and has dropped away, their significance is abiding. Immanuel, light in darkness, strength in anguish, the eternity and triumph of righteousness, the reign of the saints, the coming of the King, the reign of peace,—some of these the world has already come to know, for others we, too, still wait.

Inductive Studies in the Acts.

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THE PRIMITIVE ERA OF CHRISTIANITY.

AS RECORDED IN THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.
30-63 A. D.

SEC. 6. FIRST STEP IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHRISTIAN ORGANIZATION.

Acts 6:1-7. About 32-33 A. D. Jerusalem.

I. STUDY OF THE FACTS.

Let the following subclassification and abstract of the material in this section be verified, corrected, or improved :

Par. 1. 6:1-6, Appointment of the First Formal Christian Officers.

Par. 2. 6:7, The Christians Increase in Numbers and Strength.

Abstract.—After the persecution by the Sadducees had ceased the work of evangelization went on rapidly, and multitudes of converts joined the Christian movement. But trouble arose between two elements in the Christian community, the Palestinian and the Hellenistic Jews, because in the daily distribution of the charities the needy among the latter class were neglected. A complaint was entered against the neglect or partiality shown. In order to restore justice and harmony the apostles called a full meeting of the disciples. The facts were presented. The trouble had been largely due to the excessive duties of the apostles, who were unable properly to attend to all of them. They therefore asked to be relieved of this portion of their work, so that they might give themselves wholly to teaching and preaching the gospel. They recommended that the body of Christians appoint, from their own number, seven holy and wise men, who should assume the duties of overseeing and dispensing the charitable fund and supplies of the community. This proposal was cordially

received. Seven men were at once chosen, Stephen the most prominent of them, and they were commended to the apostles for the approval of their appointment. The apostles ordained them to their work with prayer and the laying on of hands. The internal discord having thus been allayed, the gospel spread widely and grew in strength. Great accessions were all the time being made to the Christian company, and notable among these converts were many Jews of the priest class, who had become convinced of Jesus' Messiahship.

II. TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION.

1. *The dissension among the Jerusalem Christians.*—When did this trouble arise among the disciples in Jerusalem? Observe the repeated mention of the growing numbers in the Christian community, Acts 1:15; 2:41; 4:4; 5:14; 6:1, 7. Why is the conversion of a large number of the priest class of the Jews especially mentioned? Who were the "Grecian Jews" (vs. 1, R. V. mg. "Hellenists")? Recall the main facts about the Jews of the Dispersion. How came there to be some of them resident in Jerusalem at this time? Is it to be understood that the ones mentioned here belonged to the Christian community? Who were the "Hebrews" (vs. 1) as compared with the "Grecian Jews"? Were these "Hebrews" Christians also? When Jews of the Dispersion returned to reside in Jerusalem how were they treated by the Palestinian Jews, and why? Had the Hellenistic Jews synagogues of their own in the city, separate from those of the Palestinian Jews (*cf.* Acts 6:9)? What would be the natural result of bringing together these hostile Jewish factions into one Christian community? Why were the Christians at this time not being persecuted? Did the truth receive verification that persecution compels unity, while peace permits discord? What was the nature of the trouble which now arose? Observe that "neglected" (vs. 1) signifies in the Greek repeated or habitual neglect. Why are "widows" particularly mentioned as the sufferers from this neglect? What was the "daily ministration" (vs. 1)? Was the ground of complaint favoritism or negligence, and on the part of whom? How far was the trouble due to the ill-feeling between Palestinian and Hellenistic Jews? What was the proportion of each in the Christian community? Consider the readiness of the apostles, and of the Christians generally, to remove the cause of this dissension by providing against partiality or neglect. Describe briefly the steps taken for restoring harmony. How successful was the new arrangement?

2. *The new office of alms distributors.*—Explain the meaning of the apostles' statement in vs. 2. What had been the method up to this time of distributing charity to the needy among the disciples? Why had this method become inadequate? Why were there so many in the Jerusalem community who were dependent upon this help? Who suggested the establishment of this new office? What was the new method of alms distribution contemplated in it? Was there a set title at this time for this office or these officers? Were the duties of the office to some extent similar to those later performed in the churches by the deacons? Observe that the Greek word translated "ministration" in vs. 1 is *diakonia*, the corresponding agent noun is *diakonos*, from which our word "deacon" is derived. May this office now established therefore be considered the precursor of the diaconate? On the use of the term "deacon" in the New Testament compare Phil. 1:1 and 1 Tim. 3:8-13. What qualifications were necessary on the part of these new officers? How were they inducted into office? What was the significance of the laying on of hands (*cf.* Gen. 48:14; Num. 27:18-23; Acts 8:19; 13:3; 19:6; 2 Tim. 1:6)? Consider that the new office grew simply out of the practical needs of the Christians.

3. *The seven men appointed to the office.*—Why was the number of the alms distributors seven? What was the method of election pursued in their appointment, as concerns the parts taken respectively by the apostles and by the disciples in general? Consider carefully the reasons for the three qualities mentioned by the apostles (vs. 3) as necessary for these new officers. What was the nationality of these seven men? Were they all Hellenistic Jews with the exception of one Nicolas, a Gentile who had become a Jewish proselyte and then a Christian? What was the significance of this? In this adjustment of matters so that the Hellenistic Jewish Christians should stand on equal terms with Palestinian Jewish Christians in the community of disciples do we see a decided step toward a universal gospel, in which all nationalities should have equal rights and recognition? Can it be said that in this dissension there appeared: (a) the line along which division and bitter strife were to form in the early church; (b) the comprehensive, spiritual character of the gospel which was to become all embracing? Of these seven men made alms distributors, who are the two which appear in the subsequent history of Acts, and what about them (*cf.* Acts 6:8-7:60; 8:4-40; 21:8, 9)?

4. *The Jewish synagogue and the Christian organization.*—Did Jesus instruct his disciples as to the form of organization which they should adopt after his departure? Did he even suggest a form? Why not? Did the disciples set out with a prearranged plan of organization for the Christian community? Had there been as yet a break between Judaism as such and Christianity, or were the Christians still only a Jewish sect? Were the meeting places of the first Christians called synagogues (*cf.* James 2:2 R. V.)? Would it be natural and appropriate that the Christian church, which assumed a formal organization only as this became necessary to its life and work, should adopt the synagogue pattern of organization, adapting it to its uses? Was the new office of alms distributor suggested by some similar office in the synagogue? When was the office of elder introduced into the churches (first referred to in Acts 11:30, but probably established some years before)? Was it perhaps after the dispersion from Jerusalem (Acts 8), when the Christian communities became so numerous and so widespread that the apostles could not superintend them all, and individual ruling officers therefore became necessary in each? Was there a similar office in the synagogue? How else, if at all, did the Christian organization resemble the Jewish synagogue?

III. OBSERVATIONS AND TEACHINGS.

1. *Organization.*—The first step was now taken in the development of a formal Christian organization.—The distribution of goods to the needy of the Christian community, until now superintended by the apostles, had become so large a task that special officers were necessary for it.—The new office was perhaps an adaptation of a similar office in the Jewish synagogue.—The first men appointed to the office were either all, or in part, Hellenistic Jewish Christians, who could best correct the injustice which had attended the alms distribution.

2. *Environment.*—The Grecian Jews (Hellenists) were Jews of the Dispersion who had grown up in Greek or other foreign communities, but were now resident in Jerusalem.—The Jews who had never left Palestine considered that only they were the pure Jewish stock, the faithful and consistent Jews before Jehovah, so that they looked down upon and often despised the Jews of the Dispersion.—The Christians were at this time free from external persecution, the Sadducees having not accomplished much in their attempts, and the Pharisees still not being thoroughly aroused.—It was a signal victory for the gospel that

a large number of Jews of the priest class became converted about this time to a belief in the Messiahship of Jesus; Christianity was thus drawing from the high and influential classes of Jews as well as from the lower classes.

3. *Institutions.*—The daily ministration to the needy in the Christian community was an important institution among the early Christians.—The neglect of the widows of the Christian Hellenists grew out of the fact that the apostles had more duties than they could well perform, and the discharge of this particular duty had fallen into prejudiced or incompetent hands.—The new office of alms distributors was established by popular vote of all the disciples, upon the recommendation and approval of the apostles, as was also the election of the first seven men to the office.—Prayer and the laying on of hands were used in the induction of the new officers.

4. *Belief and teaching.*—The new officers must be men of unimpeachable character, filled with the spirit of Christ, and with prudence and experience for the duties which would fall to them.—That form of Christian organization was regarded as the best which was most perfectly adapted to the circumstances in which the Christians were, at a given time or place, called upon to carry on the work of the gospel.

5. *Daily life.*—The number of the Christians continued to grow rapidly from day to day.—This dissension, which arose by reason of discordant elements brought together into a single community, was easily and quickly removed.—The apostles regarded it as their especial duty to teach and preach the gospel.—Stephen was a man already conspicuous and influential among the Christians because of his spiritual faith and power.

6. *Divine guidance.*—During this period of peace the body of disciples grew strong numerically and spiritually, in providential preparation for the murderous persecution which was soon to sweep Stephen away and scatter the Christians from Jerusalem.—When the conditions of the Christian community changed the apostles were divinely led to take such steps as would best provide for the new conditions.

Literature.—Upon this section see the commentaries on Acts, especially those of GLOAG, HACKETT, MEYER, and the CAMBRIDGE BIBLE. Also NEANDER, Planting and Training of the Christian Church, Vol. I, pp. 28-40; SCHAFF, History of the Christian Church, Vol. I, 455-460, 499-501; STIFLER, Introduction to the Book of Acts, sec. vii; WEIZSÄCKER, Apostolic Age of the Christian Church, Vol. I, pp. 43-49; RAMSAY, St. Paul the Traveler, pp. 372-377; BIBLE DICTIONARY, article Deacon.

SEC. 7. THE PREACHING OF STEPHEN AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

Acts 6:8—7:60. 33 A. D. Jerusalem.

I. STUDY OF THE FACTS.

Let the following subclassification and abstract of the material in this section be verified, corrected, or improved:

- Par. 1. 6:8-10, The Character and Activity of Stephen.
Par. 2. 6:11—7:1, Arraignment of Stephen before the Sanhedrin.
Par. 3. 7:2-53, Stephen's Defense of his Teaching.
(1) 2-16, exposition of the Patriarchal history.
(2) 17-43, exposition of the Mosaic history.
(3) 44-50, exposition of the Royal and Prophetic history.
(4) 51-53, denunciation of the present generation of Jews.
Par. 4. 7:54-60, The Condemnation and Death of Stephen.

Abstract.—The spiritual grace, power, and activity of Stephen made him one of the greatest of the Christian leaders in these first years. Being himself a Hellenist, he especially worked among the Hellenistic Jews in Jerusalem, urging Christianity upon them and arguing in defense of Christ in their synagogues. He taught that Judaism was superseded by the gospel, that Jesus had done away (or at his second coming would do away) with the temple and all ceremonialism, so that religion should henceforth be a wholly spiritual matter. This view was based upon Jesus' own teaching, but the disciples had been constrained by their love for Judaism to neglect this practical bearing of their Master's words. Stephen's teaching could not but arouse the most violent hatred and opposition of the Pharisees and Jews generally, such as Christ himself had experienced. He was brought to trial before the Sanhedrin on the charge of blasphemy against the most sacred institutions of Judaism. In his defense Stephen with apologetic aim reviewed briefly the history of the Hebrew people, and drew therefrom an argument for the freedom and spirituality of religion, particularly in connection with the temple of Solomon. Their impatience broke out in threats and interruption apparently, for Stephen left the historical argument he had been developing, and in a few words of utmost severity he rebuked them for their resistance to spiritual truth and revelation. This enraged the Sanhedrists beyond measure, and without staying for a formal con-

damnation they hurried him out of the city and stoned him to death, as the law required for the blasphemer. With perfect Christian fortitude and forgiveness Stephen received his martyrdom, as Jesus before him had done.

II. TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION.

1. *Stephen.*—Is Acts 6:1-7 introductory to this further account of Stephen? How long a time should be supposed to intervene between vs. 7 and vs. 8? Consider whether Stephen is in vs. 8 represented as a miracle-worker, and if so whether he is the first such recorded in New Testament history who was not one of the Twelve. What official position did Stephen occupy among the Christians? Recall the occasion of his election to that office. What were the chief characteristics of Stephen? Was he a Hellenistic Jew? Would this probable fact bear any relation to the large conception of the gospel which he preached? Did he belong to one of the five Hellenistic synagogues in Jerusalem mentioned in vs. 9? Can we tell which one? Locate upon the map the different countries there mentioned. Why did the Jews from these various places have separate synagogues in Jerusalem? Was it because Stephen was called to account by them for his Christian belief and activity that he "disputed" (vs. 9) with them, or because he undertook to evangelize his Hellenist friends? What were Stephen's character and power in this presentation and defense of Christianity? Why did his opponents resort to violent methods for suppressing him?

2. *The teaching of Stephen.*—Define as exactly as possible what Stephen's conception and teaching of the gospel was, which aroused the Jewish opposition. How did it differ from the view of the gospel held and taught by the Twelve? How is the difference of view to be accounted for? Whence did Stephen derive his doctrine? Did Stephen or the Twelve best represent Jesus' teaching on the subject involved? Was the main point in Stephen's conception the abolition of Jewish ritualism, the spiritualization of religious life and worship? In what sense can Stephen be called the forerunner of Paul? Did Stephen's teaching concern primarily the Jews or the Gentiles? Had the problem yet been taken up by the primitive Christians whether or not the Gentiles should be *directly* admitted to Christianity? To what extent did the Christians support Stephen in his teaching?

3. *The trial before the Sanhedrin.*—Who instituted the proceedings against Stephen? Why was it necessary to obtain *false* wit-

nesses? What charge was entered against him (vss. 11, 13, 14; cf. Deut. 13:6-11)? In what respects was this charge true, and in what respects false? Why were the Pharisees and Jewish people as a whole aroused to hostility in this case? Recall the previous two persecutions of the Christians (Acts 4 and 5), when the Sadducees were the chief persecutors. Explain the charge in this third persecution. What was the method of procedure in this trial? Make a careful comparison of this trial of Stephen with the trial of Jesus.

4. *Stephen's defense.*—What did he undertake to accomplish by his speech before the Sanhedrin? Describe the method which he employed to this end. Would any other line of argument than the historical have served him so well? Consider carefully Stephen's brief review of Hebrew history. With the aid of a marginal reference Bible, make a comparison of the history as recounted by Stephen in chap. 7, with the Old Testament records. Explain the apparent discrepancies in the history in vss. 2b-4a, 4b, 5a, 6d, 16a, 16b. Name the chief characteristics of this speech of Stephen in defense of his teaching. Was the speech interrupted at vs. 51 by the dissent of his hearers? Why should they dissent at this point? Was the argument cut short by their interruption? Consider the terrible severity of Stephen's closing words to the Sanhedrin. Why did the Acts historian give this extended account of Stephen's speech? How was it preserved for transmission in Acts?

5. *The martyrdom of Stephen.*—Did the trial end with a formal condemnation of Stephen by the Sanhedrin, or did it break up in a furious onslaught upon him? Was the Sanhedrin so far responsible for the death of Stephen that it may be looked upon as a legal execution, or was it a murder? Explain how the former might take place, even though the Sanhedrin had not properly the right of capital punishment. Why was stoning the means used to put Stephen to death (cf. Lev. 24:16)? What was the method of procedure in a legal execution by stoning? Was this procedure followed in this case? Consider the character of Stephen as disclosed in his martyrdom. Compare his manner of meeting death with that of Jesus. Explain the fact that Stephen is reported as using the title "Son of Man" (vs. 56), the only instance in the New Testament outside of the gospels where this title is used of Jesus, though it was the special title which he chose for himself. Why is the fact mentioned that Paul (Saul) was present at the martyrdom of Stephen? Had he any part in his death? Consider and explain in this connection Acts 22:20; also

Acts 8:1. Had this relation of Paul with Stephen any influence upon Paul's conversion to Christianity some months later?

III. OBSERVATIONS AND TEACHINGS.

1. *Organization.*—Does the present section contribute any information on this subject?

2. *Environment.*—This third conflict of the Christians with the Sanhedrin was much more severe than the former two, because the Pharisees were the chief persecutors.—For the first time the common people joined in the opposition, believing that Christianity was going to destroy the most sacred Jewish institutions.—The Sanhedrists, without a formal condemnation, and attended by an infuriated Jewish mob, stoned Stephen to death.—The Hellenistic Jews had synagogues of their own in Jerusalem, and to one of these Stephen seems to have belonged; there he advanced and defended his new conception of gospel truth.

3. *Institutions.*—Does the present section contribute any information on this subject?

4. *Belief and teaching.*—Stephen, the Hellenist, by reason of his broader view and more open heart, as well as because of his deeper spiritual insight, saw the truth of Christianity more perfectly than any other disciple of his time; he perceived that the religion of Christ was essentially spiritual, and that it was therefore superior to, and must in its full acceptance free itself from, the whole ritualistic and legalistic system of Judaism.—From the Jewish point of view this could be nothing less than blasphemy against God and Moses.—It was the same teaching which brought Jesus to death at their hands.

5. *Daily life.*—Stephen's attitude before the Sanhedrin was one of calm and inspired confidence, a joyful, holy consciousness that he was the ambassador of Christ.—The saintly character of Stephen and his inspired mission were manifest in the glorious manner of his death.—Paul appears to have been one of the interested participants in the persecution and murder of Stephen.

6. *Divine guidance.*—God permits it to be true that the developed stages, enlarged views, and loftier conceptions of religious truth are commonly established only in the face of violent, sincere opposition.—God called Stephen to a martyr's death that the truth of the gospel might be established through him.—It resulted, by divine providence, that the persecution which Stephen stirred up led to the immediate

and wide spread of the gospel throughout Palestine, and even into Syria and elsewhere.

Literature.—Upon this section see the commentaries on Acts, especially those of GLOAG, HACKETT, MEYER, and the CAMBRIDGE BIBLE. Also NEANDER, Planting and Training of the Christian Church, Vol. I, pp. 48–56; Vol. II, pp. 73–79; FARRAR, Life and Work of St. Paul, chap. 7; CONYBEARE AND HOWSON, Life and Epistles of St. Paul, chap. 2; STIFLER, Introduction to the Book of Acts, sec. viii; WEIZSÄCKER, Apostolic Age of the Christian Church, Vol. I, pp. 62–72; BIBLE DICTIONARY, article Stephen.

SECOND DIVISION.—PERIOD OF GOSPEL EXPANSION.

Text : Acts 8:1—15:35. Time : Seventeen years, 34–50 A.D. Localities : Palestine, Syria, Galatia. Leaders : Peter, James, and Paul.

During the first few years of the church the thousands of converts who joined the original body of Christians in Jerusalem were Jews either by descent or by adoption. But the preaching of Stephen brought on a fierce persecution of the Christians, in consequence of which they were dispersed throughout Palestine and Syria. Everywhere they at once began to evangelize the communities into which they came. By this means it was no long time until all classes, both of Jews and of Gentiles, were seeking admission to the Christian churches. Naturally the question arose: must the Gentiles become Jews (*i. e.*, conform to the Jewish ritual, particularly the rite of circumcision) before they could become Christians; or, in other words, was Christianity the supplemental tenet of a Jewish sect, or was it a universal, spiritual religion for all men and all time? The latter was the conception of the gospel as Christ presented it, but much courage, wisdom, and strength were needed to effect its realization. The pressure toward this catholicity came upon the church through three distinct avenues of experience, as presented in the Book of Acts: (1) Peter's divine vision by which he was led to receive Cornelius and his family who were pure Gentiles, as such into the Christian church; (2) the efforts of the gospel missionaries in Antioch, where the same policy of Gentile admission was adopted; (3) Paul's first evangelizing tour in Galatia, where he found it his Christian duty to admit the Gentiles to Christianity on the same plane with the Jews. In view of these practical experiences, therefore, the gospel idea underwent a rapid and significant expansion during these seventeen years. Antioch became the Gentile mother-church, and represented the universal conception of

Christianity. The mother-church at Jerusalem was still Jewish in composition and temper, but it had recognized the divine leading of Peter in the case of Cornelius, and was disposed toward an official consideration of the question. The leaders of the church therefore met in Jerusalem, treated the problem in a general conference, and formally recognized the gospel to be a universal religion to which the Gentiles had an equal right with the Jews. The characteristics of this second period were, then, the extension of the Christian church through Palestine, Syria, and Galatia; the preparation of men, such as Paul and Barnabas, who were fit to lead in this work; and the agitation, discussion, and theoretic settlement of this Gentile problem, which determined the scope of Christianity. But time was required for putting this doctrine into effect, and for making the adjustments necessary in view of it, particularly with regard to the mutual relations of Gentile and Jewish Christians to each other. This was to be the problem and the achievement of the next, the third, period of the primitive era of Christianity.

SEC. 8. FIRST EXTENSION OF ORGANIZED CHRISTIANITY BEYOND JERUSALEM.

Acts 8:1-40. 34 A. D. Samaria and elsewhere.

I. STUDY OF THE FACTS.

Let the following subclassification of the material in this section be verified, corrected, or improved:

Par. 1. 8:1-3, Violent Persecution and General Dispersion of the Christians.

Par. 2. 8:4-8, The Evangelizing Work of Philip in Samaria.

Par. 3. 8:9-13, The Conversion of Simon the Magian.

Par. 4. 8:14-25, The Visit of the Apostolic Deputation to Samaria.

Par. 5. 8:26-40, The Conversion of the Ethiopian Treasurer.

Sufficient illustration has been given (in the sections of Division I) of the *Abstract* of the Acts material. The student will now advance from the mere correction of an abstract already prepared to the more difficult work of himself preparing the abstract. Special attention must be directed to the avoidance of the language of the English version. The thoughts and facts of the section should be entirely divorced from the forms of expression in which they are clothed, and then told over again in the student's own language and style. After the abstract is

prepared, let it be subjected to the same process of verification, correction, or improvement which has been applied to the printed abstracts.

II. TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION.

1. *The great persecution and dispersion.*—Review the facts (Acts chaps. 4 and 5) concerning the former two persecutions of the disciples, as to their causes, circumstances, leaders, outcome of the trials, and final results of the persecutions. Explain why in this third persecution, in contrast with the former ones, the Pharisees take the lead and the common people join in the hostility toward the Christians. Recall how Stephen was the one who brought on this persecution. Why did the Christians leave Jerusalem? What proportion of them went away? Is there anything in the records to indicate that there was a Stephen party among the Christians, that they rather than all the Christians were the objects of the persecution, and that only they were compelled to leave the city? Or was the persecution indiscriminate, affecting all Christians alike? How could the apostles remain in Jerusalem, considering that they were the conspicuous heads of the offending company and had before this time been singled out for trial and punishment? Whither did the Christians go from Jerusalem? Was their departure from the city permanent, or did they return when the persecution waned? What was Paul's relation to the death of Stephen (*cf.* Acts 7:58; 8:1; 22:20)? Exactly what is meant by "gave my vote against them" (Acts 26:10)? Consider Paul's own descriptions of his persecution of the Christians, Acts 22:4, 19, 20; 26:9-11; Gal. 1:13, 23; 1 Cor. 15:9. Why was Paul so uncompromisingly hostile to Christianity? How did he justify his action (*cf.* Deut. 13:6-10; 17:2-7; Lev. 24:10-16)? What was the good providentially flowing from this persecution and dispersion?

2. *Samaria and the Samaritans.*—Locate Samaria upon the map. Ascertain something as to the history of the Samaritans (*cf.* 2 Kings 17:1-41; Ezra 4:1-24; Josephus' *Antiq.* 10. 9. 7; 9. 14. 3). How largely Jewish were the Samaritans in the first century A. D.? What was the attitude of the Judean Jews toward them (*cf.* John 4:9; 8:48; Josephus' *Antiq.* 20. 6. 1; 9. 14. 3)? What was the difference between the Samaritans and the Judean Jews as regarded the Old Testament Scriptures? What were the peculiarities of the Samaritan religious belief and practice? Were they better prepared to receive the gospel than the strict Jews? If so, why? Consider the work done by Jesus and his disciples in Samaria (*cf.* John 4:1-42; Luke 9:51-56; 17:11-19;

and elsewhere). Would some of the dispersed Christians settle, at least temporarily, in Samaria?

3. *Philip and his work in Samaria.*—Is this Philip one of the Seven of Acts 6:5? Why did he take up evangelizing work in Samaria? What was Philip's message to the Samaritans (*cf.* Acts 8:5, 12)? Why has there been no mention before this in Acts of the preaching of the "kingdom of God" (Jesus' one great theme)? How was the truth of Philip's message attested (*cf.* Acts 8:6, 7, 13)? What was the success of Philip's work? State and briefly describe the business of Simon the Magian? Why did magianism have so strong a hold upon the people at this time? What influence had Simon in Samaria? Was he an impostor, or an honest worker in the mysteries of nature? Why did the gospel appeal to him? Why did he make the strange request for which Peter rebuked him? May we regard Simon as having become a true Christian? Do we hear anything further of the Samaritan Christians?

4. *The apostolic deputation.*—What especial interest and significance would the report of Philip's success in Samaria have for the apostles at Jerusalem? What was the purpose of the apostles in sending representatives thither: (a) because through the Jewish distrust of the Samaritans, the report was doubted; (b) lack of confidence in Philip's ability to do the work well; (c) jealousy of the success which the Hellenist Philip was having; (d) to extend fellowship to the new converts, and affiliate them with the Jerusalem Christians; (e) to bestow the special gifts of the Spirit. Why were Peter and John chosen for this mission? What did they do when they arrived? What was the character of the baptism which the Samaritan converts received from Philip? What was the need of a further baptism by the apostles? Was the presence and work of the apostles essential to the founding of this Christian community in Samaria? Did the action of Peter and John affiliate the Samaritan with the Judean Christians? Consider this evangelizing of Samaria as an additional step toward the universal gospel, inasmuch as the Samaritans were, and especially were regarded as, a mixed race, partly Gentile.

5. *Philip and the Ethiopian treasurer.*—Trace on the map the road (vs. 26) between Jerusalem and Gaza. Indicate on the map the location of Ethiopia, and ascertain something about the inhabitants and the history of that country. Why had this treasurer of the queen of Ethiopia been to Jerusalem? Of what nationality was he—a Gentile or a Jew? If the former, was he a Jewish proselyte? Why was he inter-

ested at this time in Messianic prophecy? Had he learned in Jerusalem something about Jesus and his Messianic claims? Consider the providence which brought Philip to the man in his search for the truth. What is the Messianic teaching of Isa. 53:7-9, which needed explanation to the Ethiopian treasurer? How would Philip present Jesus to him? What was the result of Philip's conference with him? Explain the omission of vs. 37 from the Revised Version. Why has this incident received so full a report in the Acts history? How was it connected with the development of the universal gospel? Have we yet reached the stage of development at which Gentiles were admitted to Christianity without entering through the gateway of Judaism?

III. OBSERVATIONS AND TEACHINGS.

Reconsider carefully the directions regarding this part of the study given at this point in Section 1 (January number).

1. *Organization*.—According to the Acts account the apostles remained at Jerusalem through the persecution and dispersion, keeping up communication with the scattered Christians, and maintaining authority over their evangelizing activities.—A deputation was sent by them to inspect the work done by Philip in Samaria, to approve and affiliate the new converts, and to communicate to them the peculiar blessings and power of the Holy Spirit.

2. *Environment*.—A crisis in the life of the Christian community at Jerusalem was brought about by the combined and violent hostility of the Jewish religious leaders and their popular following.—The Christians were persecuted so severely that large numbers of them left the city, for at least a time.—Paul rose to prominence as a leader among the persecutors, thus early in the history of the primitive church becoming one of the chief figures.

3. *Institutions*.—The laying on of hands was used by the apostles in appointing men to office (6:6) and in the Holy Spirit baptism (8:17) as a symbol of the impartation of needed gifts and graces.

4. *Belief and teaching*.—By the apostolic recognition and adoption to fellowship of the Samaritan Christians, another long and significant step was taken toward a universal gospel.—The Ethiopian treasurer, who was presumably either a devout Jew or a Jewish proselyte, was divinely led into a knowledge of the truth concerning Christ through Philip.

5. *Daily life*.—The dispersed Christians engaged at once, everywhere in Palestine and even in more distant places, in preaching the

gospel.—Philip became one of the most earnest and successful workers in this great missionary movement.—Among Philip's converts in Samaria was one Simon, a magian, who did not at first free himself wholly from business considerations in connection with the new profession of the gospel.—Philip made an evangelizing tour northward along the west coast of Palestine until he reached Cæsarea.

6. *Divine guidance.*—During the few years between Christ's death and this dispersion the Christian community in Jerusaleim had assumed a stable and definite character; the scattering of the Christians which now took place providentially resulted in the spread of organized Christianity throughout Palestine, and even in Syria and other distant countries.—The faithful study of the Scriptures is one of God's broad avenues into a knowledge of his truth and of his Messiah.

Literature.—Upon this section see the commentaries on Acts, especially those of GLOAG, HACKETT, MEYER, and the CAMBRIDGE BIBLE. Also NEANDER, Planting and Training of the Christian Church, Vol. I, pp. 57–66; STIFLER, Introduction to the Book of Acts, sec. viii; BIBLE DICTIONARY, articles Ethiopia, Philip, Samaria, Simon (Magus), Sorcerer; CONYBEARE AND HOWSON, Life and Epistles of St. Paul, chap. 3.

Exploration and Discovery.

EXCAVATIONS OF THE EGYPTIAN RESEARCH ACCOUNT AT EL KAB.

WHILE Mr. Petrie is working at Beni Mazar, Mr. Quibell, of the Research Account, is excavating the ancient city known to the modern natives as El Kab. It is located on the eastern bank of the Nile about fifty miles above Thebes, and long before the rise of the latter city El Kab was in prehistoric times the leading city and capital of the kingdom of Upper Egypt. The patron goddess of the city, Nekhbet, the vulture, was in historic times the protectress of the Pharaohs, and in innumerable temple reliefs she hovers over his head with outstretched wings (see accompanying relief). During the domination of the Hyksos invaders El Kab was a loyal ally of the unhappy Pharaohs and was far enough south to offer them a safe and welcome refuge from the northern oppressors. In their expulsion the city played a prominent part and its noble lords were among the Pharaoh's leading supporters; so much so that they were allowed by the Pharaoh to retain their princely titles, inherited from the older feudal empire, long after all other nobles had been stripped of them. The most important inscriptions pertaining to the overthrow of the Hyksos are found here.

The city of the present day possesses unique interest; it is the only city of remote antiquity the walls of which still stand almost intact. From the cliffs back of the town (see frontispiece) one may look down upon it, stretched out beneath one's feet, and almost see the majestic temple, surrounded by the beautiful villas of the feudal lords, whose soldiery once manned the now silent walls. These walls of sun-baked brick are thirty-eight feet thick, surrounding an enclosure over 2000 feet long and about 1550 feet in width. The buildings once standing within the enclosure have almost entirely disappeared.

The cemetery just to the eastward of the city is the scene of Mr. Quibell's excavations, and such is the great age and important character of the place that great results are to be expected. Our readers will be kept informed from time to time of the progress of the

excavations, and, as may be seen in the February number of the *BIBLICAL WORLD*, can, if they choose, substantially assist in bringing many of the antiquities discovered at El Kab to our own shores.

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RELIEF FROM A GRANITE PILLAR AT KARNAK SHOWING DHUTMOISE III (XVIIIth DYNASTY) ON THE LEFT, EMBRACED BY AMON; OVER THE KING'S HEAD IS THE VULTURE-GODDESS WITH WINGS OUTSTRETCHED IN PROTECTION.

Synopses of Important Articles.

AMEN. By H. W. HOGG. *Jewish Quarterly Review*, October 1896,
pp. 1-23.

Amen is a common word in the literature of three religions, from a root, **תָּמֹן**, which in North and South Semitic alike has the meaning "established," "steadfast." In old Semitic the form *amin* is an intransitive adjective, but in Hebrew amen is an indeclinable particle. In the Old Testament the word is confined almost entirely to exilic and post-exilic literature, though exceptions are found in the use of initial amen (1 Kings 1:36; Jer. 28:26). The word tends to become liturgical (Dt. 27:15-26; Neh. 5:13) and double in its use (Num. 5:22; Neh. 8:6). Subscriptional amen occurs only at the end of Tobit. Going to the versions one finds that in the Pentateuch the LXX translate the word by *γένοιτο* eight times and by *ἀληθῶς* once, and largely follow this usage through the prophets and Psalms, but in Chronicles and the Apocrypha the word is transliterated *ἀμήν*. Aquila usually renders it *πεπιστωμένως*, but Theodotion and Symmachus use *ἀμήν*. The Aramaic and Latin versions render it *ἀμήν*, except that the Vulgate in the Psalms has *fiat = γένοιτο*.

In the Old Testament the various uses of the word were: (1) the original use to introduce an answer to a previous speaker. (2) Then the words of the answer were suppressed and amen stood alone, tending to become double. (3) Without indication of a change of speaker, amen appears as the last word of the sole speaker; this is the use of the word in subscription or prayer. (4) Simple subscriptional use, without doxology. In short, the uses are: 1) introductory, 2) detached, 3) final, 4) subscriptional.

In the New Testament there are 119 cases in the *Textus Receptus*, of which the Revised Version retains 100. The four usages of the Old Testament are found here. The word does not occur in Acts. In the gospels it is found more frequently than in the rest of the New Testament and Old Testament combined. All are in Jesus' words, and nearly all are initial, though in most cases without the backward reference, which, however, may be seen in some. There are fifty-two

cases in the synoptists and twenty-five in John. In the use of earlier material containing the word, Luke avoids it, giving but six cases. Mark never avoids it. John's employment of the word is most frequent, twenty-five times, and always double, ἀμήν ἀμήν, as contrasted with its use by the synoptists, where it is always single.

The liturgical use of the word grew in post-exilic times (1 Chron. 16:7-36). Amen was used by the people in the synagogues, but the longer form of response was employed in the temple of Herod. In the synagogue the response to the priestly blessing was amen, and the same response was made by the family to the father's blessing before and after food. Great importance was attached to the proper pronunciation of the word. It must not be uttered hurriedly, or incompletely, or inattentively, or disconnectedly. Indeed, a semi-magic power was associated with it. Its use in worship was retained by the early Christians from the synagogue as the formal response of the congregation. The use of amen after prayers and the eucharist is mentioned by Justin Martyr and Jerome. The latter use fell away in the sixth century, but is preserved in the Scotch liturgy. In the modern church amen has a variety of uses, as a response by the congregation or by the minister alone. It is also employed in the modern synagogue, and to some extent by Mohammedans.

W.

Work and Workers.

PROFESSOR R. G. MOULTON'S *The Modern Reader's Bible* is reported in the *Academy* as having a large sale in England.

PROFESSOR A. J. GRANT, M.A., has issued an abridged edition of Canon Rawlinson's *Herodotus* in two volumes for the use of students.

THE second volume of the English translation of Harnack's *History of Dogma* has been published (Messrs. Putnam's Sons, New York).

PROFESSOR JAMES ROBERTSON'S *The Old Testament and its Contents* in the Guild Library volumes has been translated by Rev. D. E. Jenkins, and published in Welsh, with a preface by Professor Davidson of New College, Edinburgh.

THE *Critical Review*, England's best quarterly review of theological and philosophical literature, under the editorship of Professor S. D. F. Salmond, of Edinburgh, has entered upon its seventh year, and celebrates the occasion by adding sixteen pages to each number.

PROFESSOR J. SKINNER, D.D., of the Presbyterian College, London, is editor of the Cambridge Bible on Isaiah, chaps. 1-39, just issued from the Cambridge University Press. It is a large volume of 375 pages, uniform in style with the series to which it belongs.

PROFESSOR M. B. RIDDLER, D.D., is made the subject of a very appreciative sketch in the *Sunday School Times* of January 30. Professor Riddle is the exegetical expositor of the International Sunday-school lessons for that deservedly valuable teacher's companion.

PROFESSOR S. BURNHAM, D.D., of Hamilton Theological Seminary, N. Y., will deliver a course of lectures on Old Testament History and Prophecy at Conneaut Lake Christian Culture Assembly near Meadville, Pa., June 26-July 4, 1897. Professor J. M. Stifler, D.D., of Crozer Theological Seminary, has been engaged to give a series of studies at the same assembly on The Life and Teachings of the Apostle Paul.

THE volume entitled *The Apostolic Church*, in the series of books known as the International Theological Library, of which the author is Professor A. C. McGiffert, D.D., Union Theological Seminary, New York City, is now in press and will be issued in the summer or early autumn by Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons.

PROFESSOR A. T. ROBERTSON, D.D., who is the successor of Dr. John A. Broadus in the chair of New Testament Literature and Interpretation in the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary at Louisville, Ky., will give a series of ten lectures on The Life and Teachings of Paul, at the Pine Lake Christian Culture Assembly near La Porte, Ind., August 12-22, 1897.

THE Haverford Library Lectures for this year were given during January and February. They consisted of three lectures by E. C. Moore, Ph.D., of Providence, R. I., on The History of the New Testament Canon; two lectures by President W. R. Harper on Prophecy; and one lecture by Professor George A. Barton, Ph.D., of Bryn Mawr College, on The Prophet Amos.

PROFESSOR A. H. SAYCE is a restless maker of books. After editing the second great volume of Maspero, *The Struggle of the Nations*, he assisted Miss Mary Brodrick in preparing the ninth edition of Murray's *Handbook for Travelers in Upper and Lower Egypt*. The volume has just appeared in London, and is said to be indispensable both to travelers and to specialists in Egypt.

A COURSE of eight lectures upon the Bible and Islam will be delivered during March before the Union Theological Seminary, New York City. They are upon the Ely Foundation, and the lecturer is the Rev. Henry Preserved Smith, D.D. The subjects are as follows: The Apostle of Allah, The Koran Narratives, The Doctrine of God, The Divine Government, Revelation and Prophecy, Sin and Salvation, The Service of God, Church and State.

A NEW wall map of St. Paul's journeys has been prepared and published by the Bible Study Publishing Co., Boston. It claims to include the latest surveys and investigations, and divides the Roman Empire into its proper political divisions. The South-Galatian hypothesis is embodied in the map, the churches established by Paul upon his first missionary journey being indicated as the Galatian churches. The map is 26×40 inches in size, and printed in four colors. Mounted on cloth and upon two rollers, for wall use, the price postpaid is \$2.

On cloth, without rollers, \$1.50. The map is not a large one, but will do for a small class, and it is certainly up to date, which most other maps are not.

ENGLAND's greatest biblical monthly, the *Expositor*, has arranged with Messrs. Dodd, Mead & Co., of New York City, to publish an American edition of the magazine, under the editorship of C. C. Hall, D.D., President of Union Theological Seminary. The edition is printed from the *Expositor*'s plates, to which is added twenty-four pages of book reviews by American writers. The articles published in the February number of the American edition are those published in the January number of the English edition; that is, the American edition is one month late.

THE Theological Translation Fund Library, first series, which contained English translations of Keim's *History of Jesus of Nazara*, Hausrath's *History of New Testament Times*, and other works of importance by Ewald, Baur, Kuennen, Pfleiderer, Zeller, and others, is now offered by Messrs. Williams & Norgate, London, at the greatly reduced price of 6s. per volume. Also the same publishers have issued a cheap edition of the Hibbert Lectures at 3s. 6d. per volume. This series contains Hatch's *Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church*, and other works of high value.

MR. S. SCHECHTER of the University of Cambridge has made a happy discovery of some original leaves in Hebrew of the Book of Ecclesiasticus. In June 1896 Mrs. Lewis brought from the East a MS. leaf, which Mr. Schechter recognized as a portion of the lost original of Ecclesiasticus. "Almost simultaneously, nine leaves of the same MS., brought from the East, were identified in the Bodleian Library." These ten chapters (39:15—49:11) in the Hebrew original will be published shortly by the Clarendon Press. This old-new Hebrew text is to be "accompanied by an English translation, and the Greek, Syriac, and old Latin versions, followed by a complete glossary of new forms found in the Hebrew text, and of words used in new senses." One of the chief values of this publication will be the presentation of sample pages of the Hebrew text in which Sirach wrote his book.

PROFESSOR H. H. HARRIS, D.D., LL.D., of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary at Louisville, Ky., died, February 4, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, at the residence of his son, Lynchburg, Va. He was a native of Virginia, was educated in Richmond College and the

University of Virginia. In 1861 he entered the confederate army and was present at the surrender of Lee at Appomattox. At the reorganization of the University of Virginia in 1866, he became professor of Greek and continued as such until, at the death of Dr. Broadus, he was called to Louisville. For several years he was acting president of Richmond College, and occupied many positions of honor in the official bodies of the Southern Baptist Convention. The *Baptist Teacher* has given us fresh fruits of his mind and pen in its expository notes on the Sunday-school lessons for several years. His death is a great loss to the denomination and seminary which he has so ably served through a score and a half of years.

THE indefatigable savant and leading authority on the topography of Jerusalem and the surrounding districts, Architect C. Schick, late in October celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of his coming to the sacred city. It is in the nature of a surprise to learn that he originally came there in 1846 not as a scholar and investigator, but as a missionary, and that for many years, and in fact down to the present, has been and is in the service of a missionary society. He came originally as a representative of the Basel Society, as a "Chrishona" brother, and in company with another missionary, the late teacher Palmer, came to Jerusalem when the European colony there consisted of little more than a baker's dozen. Although originally in connection with a German society, Schick soon entered the services of the London Society for Jewish Missions, and for a generation was at the head of its industrial school in Jerusalem. But from the very outset Schick's scholastic ambition compelled him to investigate and search in these historic sites, with the result that he is easily the chief living authority on the subject, whose frequent contributions to the German and English Palestine societies' journals are a constant delight to readers. Schick has also been prominently identified with the architectural revolution in modern Jerusalem, and not a few of the many large structures of all kinds that have been erected there in the last three or four decades were drawn by him. The close of a half century of successful work was marked by a celebration which others prepared for this modest and tireless savant. He was formally congratulated by the representatives of both the German and English mission societies, received the special good wishes of the authorities of the English Palestine Exploration Fund, and the University of Tübingen—Schick is himself a Württemberger—gave him the doctorate of theology, *honoris causa*. Even the Jewish hospital authorities in Jerusalem handed him an official

declaration of their congratulations. Schick is still tirelessly at work and in a recent German work, entitled *Die Stiftshütte, der Tempel in Jerusalem, und der Tempelplatz der Jetzzeit*, has embodied the results of the studies of a lifetime.

THE following item of interest appeared in the *Independent* a few weeks since, recording another recent manuscript discovery :

Quite a valuable find, in the department of early Christian literature, has been made by Professor Edmund Hanler, of Vienna, namely, a Latin palimpsest translation of the *Didascalie Apostolorum*. It was found in Verona, and is really a Latin copy of the *Didascalia*, and not, as might at first be supposed, of the *Constitutions of the Apostles*. The former work was thought to exist only in Syriac, and to have had only a local circulation in the Orient, although it was a pseudo-apostolic work on church polity that was widely known and quoted. The new find has been published in the "Reports" of the Royal Academy of Sciences, in Vienna, Vol. CXXXIV, Vienna, 1896, costing 1.30 marks. This writing was found on a parchment manuscript of ninety-nine pages, which is written in a Longobard hand of the eighth century, and contains the Sentences of Isidore of Seville. A number of these pages are a palimpsest. The age of the lower writing can be exactly determined, as there is found on one page a consular list from 439 to 486, which is supplemented by a second hand down to 494. The writing dates from 486, and is probably the oldest manuscript of its kind, and accordingly is a palaeographical curiosity. The manuscript was probably written in Verona. Its discovery is a valuable acquisition for the text-critical study of the *Didascalia*, and a critical edition of the Syriac text can now be made. In this connection attention can be drawn to the publication of the papyrus finds which have been deposited in the Berlin Museum, and are now being given to the world by the authorities in two volumes, the first of which is completed and the second fairly under way. In all, 611 papyrus documents have been issued, all of them in the Greek, with the exception of the last two, which are Latin. Their dates range from the reign of Augustus to the Byzantine and Arabic periods, although the bulk is credited to the second and third centuries. Their contents are of the most varied kind, legal documents of all kinds and characters predominating, especially such as throw a great deal of light on the family and business life of that period. Many of the documents are of special interest to the church historian. Nearly all were found in the tombs of Fayûm. The cost of the work as far as issued is 50.40 marks.

Book Reviews.

Eden Lost and Won. By SIR J. WILLIAM DAWSON. Chicago
F. H. Revell Co. 1896. Pp. viii+226. Price \$1.25.

Dr. Dawson again takes up his pen to present the late results of science in their bearing upon the records in the early books of the Hebrew Scriptures, believing that only the student of nature in special aspects "can measure the accordance of these records with physical facts open to observation in relation to the past, present, and future of humanity." He believes further that "enlightened natural science" allied to "intelligent and reverent study of the Bible" will be able to resist successfully the aggressions of agnostic philosophy and destructive criticism, as well as "to yield much new evidence of the beautiful congruity of the Old and New Testaments and of both with nature and human history." We discover thus in the preface a clew to the meaning of the title which must indeed seem, otherwise, rather strange to the ordinary reader; the first part, comprised in seven chapters, about two-thirds of the volume, being devoted exclusively to a confirmation, from historical and scientific data, of the Mosaic authorship of Genesis and Exodus; the second part, of three chapters, alone being covered apparently by the title.

This last work of Dr. Dawson's is not lacking in interest. He verifies the unique description of the geographical Eden in an attractive fashion. His explanation of the marriage of the "daughters of men" and the "sons of God" is simple and perhaps as satisfactory as can be offered. The tracing of the Dispersion from Shinar is careful, but the author, probably wisely, avoids discussion of the philological problems of the Tower of Babel. The "great post-glacial submergence" of the geologist confirms the Noachic deluge story. The author, however, denies universality and regards the event as merely a local submergence of land, yet a fact predicted to an inspired prophet. This portion of the work, intrinsically considered, will perhaps elicit as vigorous criticism as any; the theory, however, has been submitted in earlier writings by the author. In the seven chapters of Part I he has endeavored to throw upon cardinal Pentateuchal

problems the light of the best established results of science. His plea for the historic Moses, and probable Mosaic authorship of the earlier books at least, as based upon the data offered, is sane and worthy. But the reader is compelled to recognize that while the array of facts that make for a confirmation of the traditional view is vigorous, it is unhappily one-sided. One feels that the author is sparring throughout, but with an invisible adversary; the discussion seems to assume critical opposition, but no direct attack is made. What appears is only affirmative support of the generally accepted positions. Such a work can be unmixed satisfaction only for those who desire some buttress for their old faith in the early biblical records, and care to know nothing of later interpretations; to such Part I will prove a genuine pleasure, though even the sympathetic conservative reader will be disposed to feel at times that the author is uneven in his support of a literal interpretation. He sometimes approaches very near the verge of the conservative, while often only the most extreme literalist could follow him.

When the reader passes into the second part, discussing "Man Primeval," "The Fall and Its Consequences," and "The Restoration," a new mode of treatment is encountered. The author has aimed largely in Part I to be practical and scientific, and from the preface one might expect this to be sustained throughout, although, since the second part is made to discuss distinctively theological questions, the thoughtful reader would not expect that historical or geological data would afford much relief. There seems indeed to be an essential incongruity between Parts I and II with reference to the title of the entire work, and the style of treatment, unless, as one is tempted to suppose, from the statement of the preface and the arrangement of material, Dr. Dawson would maintain a necessary connection between an absolute Mosaic authorship of the Edenic narrative and the New Testament story of redemption.

It is doubtful whether different leading features of Part II will obtain ready acquiescence from modern scholars. Dr. Dawson denies the extreme antiquity of man as estimated by scientists of today, and accepts the "ordinarily received data of human chronology." He does not define this phraseology, but one is loath to think that he retains the chronology assigned the earliest human history by the dates now printed with the Authorized Version.

The fall and its consequences, accepted without subtraction from, or addition to, the Genesis story, is presented in its pristine dress,

except that the forbidden fruit was poisonous and deadly, or intoxicating and possessing the power to awaken in the first pair the sense of sexual modesty. The traditional serpent is the active agent of a malignant spirit. The forcible ejection from Paradise, the immortality of the physical human body before the fall, and the curse upon nature, with some amelioration after the deluge, are dwelt upon. The author goes far enough to conjecture that the tree of life may have been a palm, a banyan, or an oak.

Something may surely be said in praise of the work as one for popular reading,—to the student it offers nothing new,—and yet it may be questioned whether it is wise to ignore altogether, even in such a popular discussion, the whole modern critical and naturalistic trend of thought.

E. D. V.

Illustrated Bible Treasury and Combined Concordance. Edited by WILLIAM WRIGHT, D.D. New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons. 1896. 8vo, pp. 350+311. Price \$2.

One of the serious hindrances to accurate knowledge of things about the Bible has been the out-of-date character of the "Helps" which accompany the Teachers' Bibles. During the past year the great Bible publishing houses have given attention to the matter, and we have had new "Helps" published. The Oxford Press and the Cambridge Press have each issued "Companions to the Study of the Bible" which leave almost nothing to be desired. And now Nelson & Sons have published their new work, as indicated above. It stands in the same class with the Oxford and Cambridge works, many of the contributors being the most eminent men in the departments which they provide. The majority of the writers are British, but a number of American scholars also have assisted in the preparation of this valuable aid to popular Bible study. There are of course many good illustrations of places, antiquities, and manuscripts. The last half of the volume is a combined Concordance, Dictionary of Proper Names, and Subject Index, including the most important changes of the Revised Version. This is probably the best abridged concordance now to be had. Excellent maps, incorporating the latest information, complete the work. Sunday-school teachers and Bible students generally should no longer be satisfied to get along with the old "Helps." The new ones can be bought for from 75 cents up. And after a while when

these new aids to Bible study are bound up with the Revised Version, to which shall be added a good system of marginal references and a modern chronology, we shall be happy indeed.

C. W. V.

The Gospel in Brief. Harmonized and translated by COUNT L. N. TOLSTOI. Authorized edition. New York and Boston : T. Y. Crowell & Co. One vol., 12mo, pp. 221; cloth, \$1.25.

For some years past Count Tolstoi has been engaged in preparing a work consisting of four parts: an account of that course of his personal life and his thoughts which led him to believe that the truth lies in the Christian teaching; an investigation of the Christian teaching according to the various churches; an investigation of the Christian teaching based on words and deeds ascribed to Christ by the four gospels; and an exposition of the real meaning of the Christian teaching, of the motives for its persuasions, and of the consequences to which it should lead.

Count Tolstoi was persuaded to make a condensation of the fourth part of his work, and in that he fuses the four gospels into one, omitting all passages relating to the life of John the Baptist, Christ's birth and genealogy, his miracles, his resurrection, and the references to prophecies fulfilled in his life. Thus pruned, the account of Christ's teaching is, according to Count Tolstoi, the most conventional presentation of metaphysics and morals, the purest and most complete doctrine of life, and the highest light which the human mind has ever reached; a doctrine from which all the noblest activities of humanity in politics, science, poetry and philosophy are instinctively derived. One hundred and thirty-three pages are devoted to a plain translation into modern language of the original Greek, following Count Tolstoi's own harmonization.

C.

Tabellen zur neutestamentlichen Zeitgeschichte. By LIC. THEOL. WILHELM VOLLETT. Leipzig: Deichert. 1897. 8vo, pp. 55. Price M. 1.40.

This little work is an introduction to the study of New Testament literature, prepared on a different plan from other works of the sort. In a table which has four columns and extends across both facing

pages we see presented each New Testament writer, in turn, the first column containing the facts known about him, with references to the original sources of knowledge; the second column containing the facts and references concerning the persons to whom the author wrote, and the time of composition; the third column containing the characteristics of the book or letter; and the fourth column containing a statement as to the uncial codices in which the writing is found, also the patristic writings in which reference is made to it or quotations made from it. This is a bright idea, for it brings the data into compact space and impresses the facts upon the mind. An appendix contains a table of synoptic parallels based on Luke. The chart at the close of the book is of particular interest, giving as it does a conspectus of the uncial codices of the New Testament, with date, symbol, name, brief comment, location and the book or books, or fragments of same, which the manuscript contains. The work is of course untranslated, and so not available for popular use in this country. But a work of the same kind in English would be useful.

C. W. V.

Inspiration Considered as a Trend. By D. W. FAUNCE, D.D.

Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society. 12mo,
pp. 251. Price \$1.

This handsome volume—well printed and well bound—is written in a clear and strong style, and is popular without failing to be scholarly.

The aim of the author is “to carry out and newly apply the thought of trend” as expressed in his former volume entitled, *Prayer as a Theory and a Fact*. There he maintained that the proofs for the existence of God showed direction rather than attainment. “But there are minds so constituted that an unmistakable *trend* is more convincing than the sight of the ultimate goal.” So, similarly, in reference to the divine inspiration, trend is the best proof,—“trend in the various theories of inspiration proposed by devout students of the Bible and that shown by the Bible itself,” p. 6. The author tells us that trend “is now used to signify the tendency that makes for an end and also for the potency that gains it.” We are thus particular to permit the author to tell us in his own language the sense in which he uses the word “trend,” because we took up the book with a different conception of his purpose. If we understand him, his main contention is, not that inspiration is itself a trend, “the same music but grander,” growing

clearer and fuller through a long biblical history, but that the accumulation of theories and arguments discloses the trend, and that such a trend is a more convincing demonstration "than the sight of the ultimate goal," just as in the former book, not God, but "the various lines of proof for the divine existence," is the trend. Dr. Faunce's point seems to us, therefore, to be that the "direction" of facts and theories justifies the assumption of inspiration, though the "attainment" of proof be impossible; just as we do not prove gravitation, but only show that the facts look that way. Not inspiration, but the proofs for it, is the trend, recognizing, to be sure, that there is a trend in inspiration. The author modestly states that no new theory is here proposed. Still we think that he has done an important service to the churches in critically estimating the old theories and mediating, with so little dogmatic prepossession, among them, finding something of value in each, yet giving his allegiance to none of them.

Having stated the subject and discussed the questions involved, in the first chapter, Dr. Faunce passes in the second to an admirable section upon the accordance between the Bible and the institutions of the race, holding that they and the Bible disclose a common trend. Equally strong is his third chapter upon "The Experiential Argument." "The experimental method in physics proceeds by tests upon physical material. The experimental method in all matters of morals proceeds by tests upon spiritual material." In the fourth chapter we have the warranted deductions. The Spirit leaves men their freedom and over-sees, directs, preserves them from error, and guides them into all truth about the things they write. Men thus inspired will be men of integrity. In the third section of this chapter, "the general source of development," the author touches the point of inspiration itself being the trend, and shows the slow growth of many biblical religious conceptions. To us this is the most satisfactory piece of work in the book. In chapter five he discusses the important question of the human and the divine elements in inspiration. The human element is not disquieting, but reassuring, not a weakness, but a strength, is necessary indeed in order to the divine. The book closes with a chapter on difficulties and confirmations, devoted mainly to answering objections.

This little volume may well serve a distressed faith in these times when biblical criticism is fulfilling its difficult mission of tearing down the false props of faith without impairing the usefulness of the Scriptures. To be sure there are some questions to which we would like to have had a more searching discussion devoted. Is inspiration the

supernatural communication of infallible knowledge? Is the Bible an absolutely infallible book miraculously originated? Or, is inspiration the being filled with *religious* certainty, being therefore illumination and spiritualization? It seems to us that real inspiration can produce only such results as are grounded in the nature of revelation; but revelation, being solely for redemptive purposes, makes no disclosure concerning matters of natural and historical knowledge: therefore inspiration, the correlative of revelation, can evoke neither an infallible scientific knowledge of nature and history, nor a perfect scientific thought concerning God, but can only awaken a right understanding of God's will attesting itself in the world and shaping the world for his kingdom. Moreover, we believe it would be better to say that the Bible is inspired or inerrant, not in the region of knowledge, but in the holy issue of the life of man guided by its true norm. G. B. F.

Bible Study by Books. By REV. HENRY T. SELL, A.M. Chicago: F. H. Revell Co. 1896. 12mo, pp. 273. Price 60 cents.

This is a small book, inexpensively printed so that it can be sold at a small price, especially designed for popular study. The author published a few years ago a pamphlet entitled *Supplemental Bible Studies*, which was well received. It found its way into many Bible classes, and was very helpful toward a better knowledge and a better method of acquiring knowledge of the Bible.

And now another attempt has been made to help the same class of Bible students, Sunday-school workers, Y. M. C. A. workers, adult Bible classes, and the like. In this little volume each book of the Bible is taken up in its order in the English Bible, beginning with Genesis and ending with the Revelation. In the case of each book the author has undertaken to set forth in a plain way its purpose, contents, and analysis, to indicate its relations to the other books, and to show how the divine revelation was given to man.

In all matters of criticism, both historical and literary, the book is hopelessly misleading. The dates are frequently those which Old or New Testament scholars would not approve. The author seems to be aware that questions of time and authorship are live questions about much of the biblical literature, but he does not squarely face them; he either gives the antiquated dates of Ussher or some other authority, or else says that the date may be early or late, and leaves it there.

Much of the general comment in the volume is good, and the

analyses of the books will be helpful to many. The only really helpful analysis of a biblical book, however, is the one which the student makes for himself.

To take a book of this sort and study it from beginning to end has a sort of value, and is a higher grade of study than is being attained by many Sunday schools and associations. At the same time it is the *wrong* way to study the Bible. It should be arranged chronologically to be truly understood. The historical development of Israel and of the Christian church, and the progressive revelation of God and divine truth, can only be comprehended by the historical and chronological method; and only that method of study by which these things are comprehended can be approved.

C. W. V.

The Development of Doctrine in the Epistles. By C. R. HENDERSON, D.D. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1896. Pp. 121.

This little book is the eighth in a series of "Bible Handbooks for Young People." Its purpose is practical and its spirit that of a wise, sympathetic, and experienced pastor. It does not, as its title might lead one to suppose, undertake to trace the progress or growth of doctrine in the apostolic letters, but rather unfolds in systematic form the doctrines contained in them. In a brief introduction the letters are arranged in chronological order, and a short account is given of their origin and contents. No strictly independent judgment is here attempted, as the author confessedly leans upon such authorities as Mayor, Lightfoot, Westcott, and Alford, who are freely quoted. James is put first in order of time, and Galatians is placed between Second Corinthians and Romans. The leading doctrines are then treated in the following order: divine revelation; God and his works; man; Christian salvation; the church; the unseen future or the issues of life; the kingdom of God or the divine law of love socially realized. These topics are treated in a vigorous and independent manner, especial stress being laid upon the ethical and spiritual life. Thus, when treating of the Christian salvation, much more emphasis is given to actual union with Christ than to the sacrifice of Christ. "Sanctification means an illumined and instructed mind. . . . Truth washes the intellect clean, and the pursuit of truth lifts above mean conversation, envious tattle, frivolous gossip, worthless books, selfish aims. It is a dangerous error to suppose that earnest study has nothing to do with saintliness. A stagnant mind breeds disgusting thoughts."

"When the heavenward aspirations and holy affections of a man are stupefied there is nothing to prevent his fall down through the bottomless abyss of vulgar and ruinous vices." The author follows neither the method of the systematic nor that of the biblical theologian, but rather, as an intelligent and earnest pastor who understands the tendencies of human nature and the realities of Christian experience, he uses the doctrinal materials of the epistles somewhat indiscriminately and yet with such candor, vigor, and wisdom as to make the book of great value for earnest and intelligent young people. The difficult problems of the second advent and of woman's work in the church are treated with frankness and good sense. Of the latter it is said: "Slavery is dead, and the subjection of women is nearly dead and is passing away. The apostolic teaching enforced the duties which belonged to the social position of wives of that day." Wise words are also spoken of amusements, of the duties of the strong toward the weak, and of the weak toward the strong. "Those who continue to see evil in what is naturally innocent and wholesome should not be indulged in their error without instruction." The chapter on the kingdom of God, significantly put last as climactic, is especially valuable and interesting. It deals with industrial, social, domestic and political relations. "Sociability is our supreme opportunity of mixing Christianity with the life of our neighbors. They do grievously and dangerously err who teach that we must avoid mixed company in order to lead a pure Christian life." It is noted that "Paul advises a committee of conciliation or arbitration." The final word, "the last best word for motive and deed and conduct is—Jesus."

As a book so helpful is likely to pass into new editions it is to be hoped that a clearer and more consistent method of paragraphing and italicizing may be adopted, and that the occasional typographical errors will be corrected. The denominational tinge is not deep, but one notices that the non-Episcopalian view of early church government is called "our Baptist interpretation," and that great emphasis is put upon baptism as "a burial and resurrection." It would be difficult to show that in the epistles "government is the organ of the collective will of the people." A singular slip on page 13 attributes three quotations from Westcott's *Hebrews* to Lightfoot. These minor exceptions aside, one can congratulate young people who are trained in doctrines so sound and saving as those attractively presented here.

C. F. BRADLEY.

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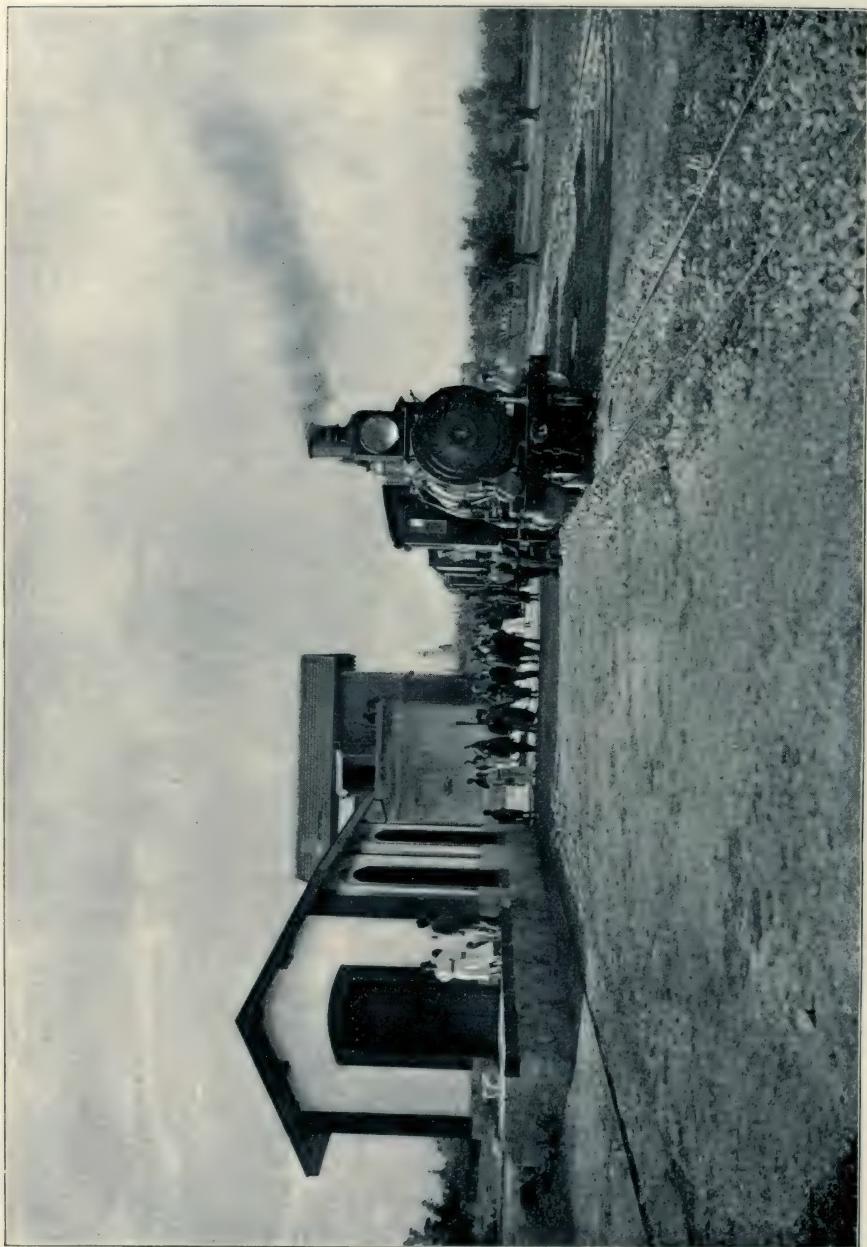
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ARRIVAL OF A TRAIN AT THE STATION OF RAMLEH.



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Is ANY question so old that it may not be revived for discussion? From the day it was written, the Book of Jonah has been the source of trouble and misgiving. To *OLD AND NEW* skeptics it furnishes a bludgeon with which to beat the heads of timid Christians. To these timid Christians it has been a subject of apology through all the ages. One may perhaps ask himself whether the Book of Jonah has not been the source of more injury than benefit to the cause of religion and good temper. In evidence of this may be cited the snarls and reproaches, the contention and bitterness, which have recently found vent in the religious press with reference to this question.

But why is it that the Book of Jonah furnishes the storm center around which the elements of conservatism and radicalism delight to rage? Why should so small a book *MISCONCEPTIONS* be the occasion of so large, so widespread, and so continuous a controversy? It is not enough to say that this arises from the differences of opinion concerning the book. The question is, Why should there be differences of opinion so great and so fundamental? We think the answer to this question will be found in the misconceptions which exhibit themselves so markedly in nearly every discussion which one examines. Men talk about the book who really have no proper understanding of it, and who, because of their ignorance, fail entirely to place it in its proper connection, attribute to it thoughts and ideas of

which its writer was never for a moment guilty, and, worst of all, miss the real significance of the thought which the book depicts. *Misconception*, we affirm, is the cause of the difficulty.

Readers of the book have almost universally failed to make the distinction between (1) the events of the book and their purpose and (2) the writing of the book and its purpose. These lie apart at least four hundred years. The historical character of Jonah himself is vouched for by the writer of Kings, who makes him a sort of prime minister to Jeroboam II (2 Kings 14:25). Jonah goes to Nineveh, not to bring Nineveh to repentance, but, if possible, to perform a mission which, when understood at home, will bring the profligate Israelites of Jeroboam's times to their senses. Every other means employed to touch the heart of Israel had failed. Perhaps the moral subjection of the great world-power—Nineveh—will do what nothing else has done. Thus Jonah is sent to Nineveh for Israel's sake, not for the sake of Nineveh, just as, for Israel's sake, Isajah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel preached their sermons against foreign nations. Was Jonah's mission a failure so far as concerned its influence on Israel? Yes, in the sense in which all prophetic work was a failure; but likewise a success in the sense in which prophetic work succeeded. All this is a matter of the history of the eighth century.

Very different, however, is the Book of Jonah, written not earlier than 400 to 350 B. C. by a prophet who, filled with the Spirit of God, seeks to promulgate a divine truth, the influence of which his soul has felt, and to this end selects materials connected with an historical event of the past. Does the book answer any considerable number of the questions which at once suggest themselves to the mind of the inquirer? No. We are not told the name of the king of Assyria, nor the history of Jonah after his rebuke by God, nor a hundred things which, from the historical point of view, one might fairly expect to be answered. The events are one thing; the book is another, and no man will ever reach a clear conception of either who does not separate the one from the other.

*THE EVENTS
AND THE
NARRATIVE*

The Book of Jonah has been given prominence because of the miraculous element in which it seems to abound. Can anyone find within the same number of verses a greater display of miraculous power? It reads, indeed, according to many, as if from beginning to end it furnished a series of miraculous interpositions; for example, the rising of the storm, the casting of the lot, the preparation of the fish, the restoration of Jonah, the repentance of Nineveh, etc. But if one will remember the Hebrew method of thought, which attributed everything unusual directly to God without the intervention of law, and if one will distinguish sharply between the providential and the supernatural, this mass of miracle becomes indeed something entirely different. One finds after a discriminating study of the material that the book records only a single miracle; namely, the preservation of Jonah's life in the belly of the fish. It is not possible here to argue either for or against the possibility of this miracle, because the question involves deeper questions which the space at our command will not permit to be discussed. Our only intention is to point out the fact that the book is not, after all, something so much like a story of the Arabian Nights as some represent it to be, and that one need not be driven to the view that it is fiction because of the large amount of the unreal which it contains. Something far more difficult to comprehend than the preservation of Jonah's life is found in the repentance of the Ninevites, under the circumstances in which they stood at that period of the world's history. The difficulties, we think, are largely diminished when this misconception concerning the superabundance of the miraculous element is removed.

Nor does Jonah stand alone as popular supposition generally suggests. We may not forget that Jonah, as a historical character, forms one of a trio of exceptional men, Elijah and Elisha being the other two. These three prophets were contemporaries. They lived in practically the same environment. All three preceded the age of written prophecy; all three represent the age which

ELIJAH,
ELISHA,
AND JONAH

later Hebrew tradition idealizes, and to which were assigned strange and mysterious events. If we recall the peculiar stories of Elijah, abounding as they do in what at first sight seems to be the miraculous at every step; if we remember the multitude of stories concerning Elisha, the raising of the dead, the lifting of the ax in the water, the purifying of the spring, the coming to life in later times of the man whose body, about to be buried, is thrown into Elisha's tomb, etc., we have a wealth of mystery and inexplicable material to which all that is found in the Book of Jonah bears no real comparison. Remembering now that all three men come from the same age, it is fair to argue that if one denies the stories given us concerning Jonah, he must also deny those concerning Elijah and Elisha; and, on the other hand, if one accepts the Elijah and Elisha material, he must also accept in the same sense the Jonah material, for the latter is by no means so difficult to accept as the former. Why should men who are professing Christians sneer at the stories of Jonah and swallow without compunction the stories of Elijah and Elisha? Again we contend that men have made statements concerning Jonah and the Book of Jonah who have failed to see the close connection which exists between Jonah's work and that of Elijah and Elisha, between the Book of Jonah and the chapters of the Books of Kings which relate to Elijah and Elisha. Indeed, the Book of Jonah might well be reckoned as a section of the Second Book of Kings. And never shall we understand Jonah rightly until we consent to interpret the book on the same principles in accordance with which we interpret the Books of Kings.

The greatest drawback to an understanding of the Book of Jonah has been the failure to appreciate its artistic form and, as a consequence of this, the real spirit and teaching of the book. Many have searched for the key to the book, but in their search have been satisfied with this or that external and superficial factor, possessing only the remotest possible connection with the book itself. Space does not permit the illustration of this charge. But one need only examine the long list of themes which have been put forward as

containing the thought of the book to appreciate the truth of the statement. As a matter of fact there is no single piece of literature in the entire Old Testament which is more artistic in its form, more pedagogical in its method, or more logical in its thought. Recall (1) the story of the ignorant and superstitious sailors (chap. 1) who, terrified by the storm, recognizing in it the hand of God, in their distress and misery turn from the gods whom they have worshiped to the God Jehovah, offering him vows and promises of service, and who having thus turned to the true God are delivered. Recall (2) how the disobedient prophet is imprisoned in the belly of the fish, and, as the narrative represents it, cries out to God words of thanksgiving and supplication ; but when he turns to the God whom before he had deserted he is delivered. Recall (3) how the wicked, licentious, rapacious Ninevites, at the summons of Jehovah's prophet, acknowledge their sin and guilt, and because of their repentance are delivered, notwithstanding the definite and distinct prediction of the prophet. What have we here ? Three stories, each with different characters, each distinct and yet all connected. Three object lessons ; examples of wicked men who, in distress, turn to God and are delivered. Each story furnishes us a type of humanity. Each is complete in itself, and yet all are incomplete ; for it remains to be told us how it is possible for a great God thus to extend mercy and forgiveness to ignorant and superstitious sailors, to the wicked and disobedient prophet, and to the licentious and cruel Ninevites. The answer is given in the fourth chapter in which there is presented a most clearly defined picture, on the one hand, of the contemptible meanness of Jonah, his heart filled with bitterness and chagrin because, forsooth, the great city of Nineveh has not been destroyed at his bidding ; and, on the other, of the magnanimous and magnificent love of God for humanity, a love which fills his heart with compassion for man and even for beast : "And should not I spare Nineveh, that great city, wherein are more than sixscore thousand persons that cannot discern between their right hand and their left hand ; and also much cattle ?" Could anything be more beautiful, anything more sublime ? It was the lesson of

the gospels themselves; the lesson of the love of God for man. The understanding of this piece of beautiful literature carries with it the comprehension of its thought, but the former is essential to the latter, and without it there can be no true conception.

It is surely a misconception of the highest truth to assert that one's belief in Christianity must hinge upon an acceptance of the Jonah story as historical. It cannot be shown conclusively that Jesus intended fully to indorse the narrative as historical when he made use of it.

*CHRIST'S
USE OF THE
JONAH STORIES*

It is certainly possible to understand that his use was for the sake of illustration, the material thus used being drawn from the common treasury of the day in which he lived. We say that this is at all events possible, and so long as there is even a possibility of it we should exercise great care in charging with unbelief or disbelief those who, for one reason or another, find the Jonah story difficult to accept. And, besides, we ought to remember that men are not always logical and consistent. One man cannot grasp and assimilate all truth. It is not difficult to suppose that some child of God, whose experience of God's love and mercy has been so definite and distinct that he is absolutely sure of Jesus Christ and the truth of Christianity, may not have gone so far as to understand the principles underlying the element of the miraculous and the application of these principles to the story of Jonah and to Jonah's times. To make the whole fabric of Christianity hang upon a single thread, and that, the interpretation of a book which has been the source of difficulty through all the ages, is, to say the least, unwise; nay more, it exhibits an utter misconception of Christianity itself, for it is based upon the premise that Christianity is a creed rather than a life; a thing to be believed rather than a method of life.

What now is our conclusion? It may be stated in the form of propositions: (1) The life and work of Jonah are, without question, historical. (2) The story of this life, even if pure

fiction, reveals a conception of the love of God, and the working of that love in its relation to humanity, which is almost as clear and definite as the same message taught by Jesus

CONCLUSION

himself. Moreover, the story is entirely distinct from the question of the historical character of the events in the life of Jonah. (3) A superabundance of the miraculous element is not to be found in the Book of Jonah, if one distinguishes between the supernatural and the providential. (4) Whatever view one takes of Elijah and Elisha, of their work and the miracles recorded of them, that same view he must take of Jonah, his work, and the miracles connected therewith. (5) It will be better, for the time being at least, for students to forget the question of the miracles and for skeptics to ignore the story of the fish, and for both Christians and skeptics to study, as a child might study, the beautiful and artistic form of this *gem* of literary productions; a study which will reveal a depth of thought and conception concerning God to which these same Christians and skeptics are, perhaps, entire strangers. (6) Caution is necessary on the part of the self-styled apostle of God's truth in respect to *adding* to the truth what does not belong to it, as well as on the part of the self-appointed critic of that same truth in his effort to *subtract* something that is a part of it. To add is neither better nor worse than to take away.

THE TEXT BOOK LITERATURE OF THE BABYLONIANS.

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I.

A FORTUNATE chance has preserved for us a considerable portion of the text-book literature of the ancient inhabitants of the Euphrates valley. In the year 1849-50, Sir Austen Layard, while engaged in excavating the site of ancient Nineveh (opposite Mosul), found the remains of an extensive library in a palace erected by King Ashurbanabal—the Sardanapalus of Greek tradition—about 2500 years ago. About 30,000 of these tablets, most of them unfortunately in a fragmentary condition, were brought by Mr. Layard to the British Museum. Their contents range over many departments of human thought—epic and religious poetry together with omens, incantations, and legends constituting the more significant divisions. The origin of this miscellaneous literature was Babylonian, as indeed the entire culture of Assyria was due to the northerly advance of the civilization that had its rise in southern Mesopotamia. Ashurbanabal himself tells us that he sent his scribes to the libraries of Babylonia to copy for him the treasures they contained. It is doubtful whether, barring historical annals and official documents and some religious rituals, any literature in the real sense of the word was produced by the Assyrians, so that we are justified in labeling Ashurbanabal's collection, which is estimated to have contained no less than 200,000 tablets, as Babylonian literature.

Decisive as a criterion for judging of the state of culture reached in Babylonia is the evidence furnished by the collection itself of the educational methods that were employed in aiding the young aspirants to knowledge to master the difficulties of

the puzzling cuneiform script and for introducing pupils to the knowledge of the day. Many thousands of the tablets in the royal library served this purpose. Some of these furnished a conspectus of the hundreds of signs that compose the cuneiform "alphabet" together with an indication of the words symbolized by the signs and the syllabic values of the latter when entering as elements into the composition of words; others dealing with the language set forth its grammatical structure, while a third group furnished exercises in composition, and a fourth commentaries to texts.

II.

The first step that the young Assyrian was obliged to take in starting upon his language course was to familiarize himself with the signs. This was no easy task. There were over 300 combinations of wedges in common use and just as many of rarer occurrence in texts, but which likewise had to be learned. Each sign, moreover, had what is called its ideographic and syllabic values. It could represent a certain idea expressed by some fundamental term together with a varying series of words associated in thought or in sound, and grouped about the central notion. Similarly the syllabic values of a sign varied from two to five and occasionally exceeded the latter number. Lists were accordingly prepared on the clay tablets to facilitate this part of the task and to serve also as practical aids in the reading of texts. These sign lists were of a various character. The simplest consisted merely of the signs ranged one beneath the other in a long column on both sides of a tablet. The principles guiding the arrangement were similarity in the form of the signs,¹ similarity in its syllabic sound, and, thirdly, logical association in the ideas which the sign symbolized. It is evident that in the combination of these principles a free play is left both to the judgment and imagination of the compiler of such a list.

¹There are many styles of cuneiform script, (1) archaic, in which the characters closely approach the pictures they originally represented, (2) old Babylonian, (3) neo-Babylonian, and (4) Assyrian; and there are varieties within these four groups.

To take an example: When the compiler places beneath one another signs having the values *kur*, *kar*, it is reasonable to suppose that the association in sound suggests the order; and for the same reason he places *ti*, *la*, *lu* together, *bur* and *bar*, *al*, *il*; and more the like. Rhyme is a factor closely allied to sound association and accordingly *kar* is followed by *dar*; *bar* and *gar* are found together, *zu* and *ku*, *kur* and *bur*. On the other hand, similarity in the forms of the signs accounts for so arbitrary a succession as *ta*, *um*, *dub*, while it is due to association of the ideas expressed by the signs when *ka*, *du*, *sha* follow one another and which stand for *mouth*, *foot*, *heart*; and similarly the reason for the order *et*, *shal*, *mut*, *kur*, *tur*, *un* is apparent upon finding that the signs having these values express the ideas of "house," "woman," "land," "child," and "man."

Of these three principles, (*a*) sound, (*b*) form, and (*c*) idea, it would appear that similarity in form and in the composition of the signs—for many of the signs are composed of two or more signs attached together—exercised the greatest influence, though in order to recognize this connection between signs it is generally necessary to revert to the Archaic forms of the signs and to determine the picture originally portrayed by the sign. Similarity in sound among signs is often dependent upon original similarity in form, though it is doubtful whether this latter similarity in such a case was always recognized by the Babylonian pedagogues of later days. Again, similarity in ideas expressed by different signs also in many cases finds its explanation in a common origin for the signs, so that it is difficult to differentiate sharply between the three principles.²

Such single-column lists could, of course, be of service only in fixing in one's memory the mere forms of the signs by the help of a certain rational succession of an indefinite number of groups. In order to acquaint the student with the actual value of the signs, it was necessary to supplement this single column by another, or by two more, devoted to further explanations.

Following very often the same order as in the one-column

² On this whole subject see DELITZSCH'S *Ursprung der Keilschriftzeichen*, especially chaps. 3 to 6.

lists, but also deviating from it, lists of signs were drawn up, in one column of which the sign to be explained was placed and in the other the explanation, while as an additional aid a third column was attached for the name by which the sign in question was known.

Designating the sign in question as *y*, this three-column list presents the following appearance:

ku- u	Y	tu- kul- lu
shi- i	Y	tu- kul- lu
zi- i	Y	tu- kul- lu
du- ur	Y	tu- kul- lu
tu- ku- ul	Y	tu- kul- lu

The sign to be explained is in the middle, to the right is the name of the sign repeated as often as the sign is under consideration, and to the left are written the various values of the sign when it enters as a syllable in writing a word. By way of indicating that the series is completed, the name of the sign is repeated also in the left-hand column before a new sign is taken up.

But the signs of the cuneiform alphabet (if one may call it such) represented words as well as syllabic elements. It became necessary, therefore, to draw up lists in which the various words corresponding to any sign might be indicated. These lists also consisted usually of three columns, the sign to be explained being placed, again, in the middle; the right-hand column was set aside for writing syllabically the words for which the sign might be used in the cuneiform literature. Representing the sign to be explained by letters of our alphabet, such a list would present the following appearance:

da- ra	A	ir- bi- tum	four
ib- bi	A	tu- bu- uk- tum	region
she-esh	B	a- khu- u	brother
u- ru	B	na- sa- ru	protect

which means that a sign A might be used in a text to represent the word "four" or "region" (compare our word "quarter"), and that the sign B can stand for "brother" or for any part of the verb "to protect." Again when there is found in the third

column of such a list on one line Sha- mu- u signifying "heaven," and on a second i- li signifying "god," the student would know that these were the so-called ideographic values of the sign, or at any rate two of them.

It is through these lists more particularly that a complete conspectus of the ideographic values of a word may be obtained and they, therefore, form the complement to the first class devoted to an enumeration of the syllabic values. Various devices were employed in the texts themselves to indicate which one of the various meanings is intended in any particular instance, the most common being the addition of a phonetic complement, that is, a sign having the phonetic value corresponding to the last syllable of the word to be employed. Thus if the sign X is to be read kish- sha- tu, the syllable *tu* would be placed after it, if git- ma- lu, the syllable *lu*. Again, since the sign may stand for any part of the verb or verbs for which it is the equivalent, the last syllable of the verbal form will be added phonetically as a guide to the reader.

To explain the purpose of the words in the left-hand column would involve a discussion of the entire origin of this apparently curious method of writing.¹ Suffice it to say that the cuneiform characters, so-called from their wedgelike shape and arising like all forms of writing from original pictures, are according to the majority of scholars the invention, not of the Babylonians, but of earlier settlers of the Euphrates valley. According to this view, the words in the left-hand column are the equivalents in this older language of the Babylonian words found to the right. To this language the name of Sumerian has been given. Some scholars, however, following the lead of the distinguished Joseph Halévy of Paris, hold that the left-hand column contains merely another method of writing the same term that appears in the corresponding line of the right-hand column—a species of cipher or "cryptogram" artificially invented by the scribes to lend to written documents a more mysterious character.

¹ It is sufficient here to refer to PROFESSOR DELITZSCH's investigation *Der Ursprung der Keilschriftzeichen*, from which one will gain some notion of the problem and of its difficulties. Delitzsch's contribution is most valuable without being final.

However this may be, the Babylonians so thoroughly adapted the cuneiform style of writing to the needs of their language as to lend to the syllabary a complete Babylonian aspect, and thoroughly Semitic character. Not only were the lists we are discussing prepared by pedagogues, but prepared for the purpose of training students in Babylonian and not in "Sumerian" which, whatever its origin, certainly acquired a purely *artificial* character in the eyes of the Babylonian schoolmen.

Still a third class of sign lists are met with which represent in a measure a combination of the two previous ones. They consist of four columns, the sign to be explained being placed in the second column—to the left is one of the phonetic values of the sign—as a general thing the one most frequently used being chosen—in the third column the name of the sign appears, while the fourth is devoted again to a list, aiming evidently at completeness, of the various words for which the sign may be used. As an example of this list, let us choose a sign, designating it X. The example also illustrates the manner in which by association of ideas a single sign may do service for a great variety of words:

sha- ar	X	du- u- gu	kish- sha- tu	mass
			ma- a- du	much
			shum- du- u- u	multiply
			ra- bu- u	increase
			etc.	etc.

An interesting feature of this class of sign lists are the brief comments frequently added to the words in the fourth column, the purpose of which is to specify more particularly the sense in which a verb is used.

Perhaps the most striking feature of these three classes of sign lists is that, in addition to their pedagogic value, they retain their importance as reference tables to the one already able to read the texts.

III.

In contrast to this extended use to which the sign lists could be put, stand the tablets devoted to an analysis of the grammatical

forms of the language and which are distinctly and solely intended as exercises for students. These paradigm lists, as we might call them, are again of various kinds, embracing verb and noun forms and the use of prepositions with suffixes.

The simplest form of the verb in Babylonian, as in all of the Semitic languages, is the third person perfect. With this form, therefore, the exercise usually begins, and a certain verb being chosen as a paradigm, it serves as a model for all others of this class. The exercise being, moreover, of a purely practical character, not all the forms are given, nor is any fixed order observed. So a portion of one of these lists is set aside for exercises in forming the singular and plural of the preterite and present tenses of the verb. Starting, *e.g.*, with the verbs "to weigh," the following forms are given:

he weighed	he weighs
they weighed	they weigh

Another exercise would illustrate the combination of the verb with the suffix of the third person singular:

he weighed it	he weighs it
they weighed it	they weigh it

So in the exercise to illustrate the use of prepositions; *ittu*, "with," was chosen as a paradigm because of its frequency, and we have the series:

with him	with us
with them	with thee
with me	with you

In the case of all these paradigms there is added to the left, in a separate column, just as in the case of some of the sign lists, the ideographic or non-Semitic equivalents for the various forms (serving at the same time as a means of readily converting one form of writing terms into another).

The character of the left-hand column follows closely the simplicity or greater complexity of the one to the right. Besides the chief sign indicating the verb, noun, or preposition used, there are subsidiary signs, most of them placed before the main sign, but some after it, which indicate the perfect or imperfect

tense, the plural and the suffixes and the like. The correspondence of the two columns is thus always made complete, and to the eye of the practiced reader the one column appeals as intelligently as the other. At times, moreover, the verbs grouped together in the right-hand column are regulated entirely by the ideographic one, the object being to indicate the various verbs which may appear as the equivalent of a certain sign. A sign having the phonetic value, *Ba*, for example, is used for the verb *kâshu*, "to present," *zâzu*, "divide," and *nasharu*, "to cut off," the three standing evidently in direct association with one another. The paradigm, accordingly, for the preterite form of *Ba* and its equivalents presents the following appearance:

in Ba	i- ki- ish	he presented
in Ba	i- zu- uz	he divided
in Ba	ish- shu- ur	he cut off
in Ba esh	i- ki- shu	they presented
in Ba esh	i- zu- zu	they divided
in Ba esh	i- shu- ru	they tore

and for the preterite and present with the suffix :

in ba an Ba	i- ki- is- su	he presented it
in ba an Ba	i- zu- us- su	he divided it
in ba an Ba	ish- shur- shu	he cut it off
in ba an Ba e	u- ka- as- su	he presents it
in ba an Ba e	u- za- as- su	he divides it
in ba an Ba e	u- na- shar- shu	he cuts it off

The signs accompanying *Ba* all have a meaning; *in* is the general prefix to show that *Ba* has verbal force, for of itself a sign as an ideograph is no particular part of speech; *esh* indicates the plural; *ba-an* is the equivalent of the suffix, and the addition of *e* changes the preterite to the present. These subsidiary signs are invariable, and only the main sign is changed in the case of any other verb being used.

At other times, the right-hand column leads off, a group of verbs in various forms being brought together which are connected in meaning, thus:

ish sha- ka- an	he places
ia- sa- ap	he adds
us- si- ip	he added

u- rad- di	he increases
i- na- ad- din	he gives
it- ta- din	he delivers
id- din	he gave

The main signs in the left-hand column differ, as different verbs are introduced. In this way the student, besides learning his verbal forms, is drilled in the relationship existing between the phonetic and ideographic method of writing his language.

Paradigms of only one column were also prepared for the students. So we have a long tablet, giving a list of over two hundred verbs, both with and without suffixes, all placed in the second person singular of the various moods peculiar to the Babylonian verbal conjugation. A brief extract from this interesting list will suffice to make its method and object clear. It begins:

thou openest	thou borest them
thou eatest	thou twistest
thou openest them	thou borest them ¹
thou releasest	thou destroyest

For the nouns the exercises consist chiefly in illustrating the manner in which the possessive suffixes were attached, and, secondly, in the combination of nouns with adjectives and prepositions. An interesting example is found in connection with the noun shīmu, "price:"

shi- i- mu	price
shim- shu	his price
a- na- shi- mi- shu	to his price
a- na- shi- mi- shu ish- kun	for his price he placed
shi- mu gam- ru	full price
shi- mu la gam- ru	price not full, <i>i. e.</i> , incomplete price
ana shi- i- mi- ru gam- ruti	for his price in full
ana ar- kat shi- mi- shu la gam- ru- ti	for the future his price not in full
i- sham	he fixed
i- sha- mi	he fixes
i- shim- mu	they fixed

¹tu-pat-tir from patāru which appears to be a synonym of patāhu occurring two lines previous. See DELITZSCH'S *Assyrisches Wörterbuch*, p. 357, where patiru and patihu are similarly found in conjunction, though there used in a derived sense.

IV.

From such exercises with nouns, it is but a small step, and also a perfectly natural one, to the combination of the noun with the verb; so the list in which shīmu is introduced closes, as we have just seen, with several verbal forms of the same stem:

he pays	they pay	they paid
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As a general thing the noun will be found in combination with various verbs, and these being such as are frequently found in certain kinds of texts, the practical utility of the exercise is correspondingly increased. Here is the way in which the word for "hand," both plural and singular, is treated:

hands	their hand
into ¹ the hands	their hand they took
into the hands he gave	their hand they take
into the hands he gave it	their hand he removed
into the hands he placed	their hand they removed
his hand	into their hands
his hand he took	into their hands he placed
his hand he takes	
his hand they took	
his hand they take	

Proceeding in this way, the combination of noun with verb paves the way for exercises in forming short phrases. The advance is so gradual that the student, before he is aware of it, is already engaged in the actual reading of extracts from texts, for the phrases thus introduced are all such as are actually met with in a certain branch of Babylonian literature. A certain term, for example, sibtu,—“income,”—being chosen, the various combinations in which the word appears in texts are ingeniously introduced:

sib- tu	income ²
si- bit- su	his income
a- na sib- ti- shu	to his income
a- na sib- ti- shu ish- kun	to his income he placed
si- bit sha Sha- mas	income of Shamas ³

¹ Or from.

² Lit.: increase, *i. e.*, on capital.

³ *I. e.*, income of the temple of the sun-god Shamas.

si- bit Sha- mas ki- i- ni	income of (the temple of) the sun-god is fixed
si- bit Shamas u\$- šab	the income of the sun-god he increased
si- bit Shamas i- shak- kan	the income of the sun-god he places
si- bit Shamas i- nam- din	the income of the sun-god he gave
si- bit Shamas u- ta- ri	the income of the sun-god he returns without increase
sha la šib- tu	there is increase
sib- tu i- shi	there is no income
šib- tu ul i- shi	income as of a city
šib- tu ki- i a- li	the increase went by default
šib- tu it- ta- bal- kit	increase of the increase ¹
si- bit sib- ti	there was an increase of increase
si- bit šib- ti i- shi	

Starting again with a combination of preposition and verb the tendency to pass on to short set phrases may likewise be observed:

a- na it- ti- shu	whatever there is
a- na it- ti- shu i- ba- ash- shi	whatever there with him is
a- na it- ti- shu u- shim ma i- na biti	what he there was fixed he fixed
it- ta- si	[i. e., the price] and left the house

But just as the exercise passes on from words to phrases, so it passes out again from phrases back to paradigm drilling.

The introduction of "to give" in the last phrase suggests the enumeration of some of the forms of that verb and accordingly the phrases are interrupted to make room for them.

The verb nadânu, "give," in turn leads to other verbs, and in all some dozen verbs are treated at this point in the same way.

In the third place, with the verb as the point of departure, the same process takes place. After giving various forms of "to weigh" and "to measure," an exercise tablet proceeds:

she- im im- du- ud	grain he measured
she- im i- mad- da- ad	grain he measures
she- im i- mad- da- du	grain they measure
she- im ul im- du- ud	grain he did not measure
kas- pu ish- kul	silver he weighed

and the same way:

silver he weighs
silver they weigh
silver he weighs not

¹ I. e., compound increase.

and, further on, the combination :

silver he weighs and corn he measures

Or again to illustrate the combination of noun with suffix and of both with the prepositions, pikhâtu, "district," a noun with a feminine ending *t* is chosen, and we find the series :

pi- kha- tu	district
pi- kha- as- su	his district
a- na pi- kha- ti- shu	to his district
pi- kha- as- su- nu	their district

Combining these various examples, the pupil will learn in this way that the prepositions are followed by the noun with the genitive ending *i*, that the adjective is placed after the noun, that the suffixes are attached to the noun, but not to the adjective, that the negative particle belongs between the noun and the adjective, that when the suffix is attached to the nominative of the noun, the ending *u* is dropped but the genitive ending *i* retained, and incidentally he will learn also what the suffixes of the third person singular and plural are in the case of the noun, and that in order to combine two qualifying elements with one noun, one is placed before and one after the principal word, the former being a substantive, the latter an adjective.

From the phrases the natural step is to form perfect sentences :

The house for silver he secured.

The field for silver he secured.

The orchard for silver he secured.

And again :

After he had brought the silver, he entered his house.

After he had brought the silver, into the field he went.

The last step in the process is the introduction of phrases and sentences without the preliminary steps of advancing from a single term, and when once this is done the pupil is well launched upon the reading of texts proper. A large number of such tablets exists, devoted to examples of all kinds of phrases and little sentences that remind one forcibly of the method pursued in the modern "Ollendorf."

It will be sufficient to instance a few of these sentences chosen at random :

The product of the field which he brought into the house.
Door and lock were firm.
Who has neither father nor mother.
Whom his father and mother do not know.
As long as he lives in the house the beam of the house he secures, and the wall he keeps in repair.

V.

The observation will not have escaped the reader that many of these phrases and sentences have reference to agricultural life and commercial affairs. Similarly many of the paradigms chosen, both verbs and nouns, have the same application, such as "to weigh," "to measure," "price," "silver," "to present," "to restore," "income" or "increase," "to give," and the like. This is not accidental, and points, as has already been suggested, to the practical character of the instruction given.

A great part of the Babylonian literature as found in the clay tablets is of a legal and commercial character. The Babylonians, while starting out as an agricultural people, soon developed the commercial spirit, and to them more properly than to the Phœnicians belongs the distinction of being the great merchants of antiquity. With the growth of commercial enterprise the capitalist appears ready to invest his money, or to lend it to those in need of it, at a profitable rate of interest, the customary amount being 20 per cent. The commercial spirit extended also to the religious institutions. The great temples of Babylonia controlled great estates, the income of which was the revenue that provided for the sustenance of the priests and officials attached to the houses of worship, and defrayed the various other expenses of the same, such as the purchase of animals for the sacrifices, building improvements and repairs, the furniture, ornaments, and hangings, as well as the garments for the gods and priests. A thriving trade was also carried on in Babylonia in sheep and cattle raising, while the manufacture of goods and dyes, and the cultivation of the

industrial arts, went hand in hand with the working of the basalt quarries and the copper mines of the Sinai peninsula, and the importation of gold and silver from Egypt and other countries.

Such commercial activity could as a matter of course not be maintained without the perfection of a method for keeping a record of transactions. As early as 2000 years before our era we find the Babylonians engaged in making such records, and they continued to do so through the period of Greek supremacy down to within a few decades of our era. Everything was noted down on the clay tablets. When the produce of some field was sold—grain, dates, corn or whatever it might be—a formal agreement was drawn up between the seller and purchaser, in which the quantity sold and the terms of the sale were explicitly stated, and both parties bound themselves in the presence of witnesses to abide by the agreement. So when money was loaned, the creditor obtained a tablet which, attesting the loan and the manner in which the loan was to be refunded, the time and rate of interest and payment, served as a guarantee for the safe return of the sum. In the same way the rent of houses was regulated, with a stipulation, as in modern leases, of the duties devolving upon lessor or lessee. Marriages, too, and divorces were not legal without a formal contract. Last testaments and wills, terms of adoption, inheritance and disinheritance, had likewise to be formally drawn up and attested in the presence of witnesses which varied in number from three to ten. The date also was affixed, either in an indefinite manner by means of some important event, or, as became the common practice, by the month, day, and the year of the reigning king, and later, in the days of the Seleucidians, by eras.

Lastly, the growing complications of commercial life leading to disputes and lawsuits, the appeal had to be made to judges whose decision was likewise formally drawn up, the disputing parties binding themselves to abide by it. The amount of writing thus to be done required a large force of scribes, for in the ancient Orient, as in the East today, writing was a profession, and the scribe was an important agent in all transactions. No

agreement is complete without the mention of the scribe who generally acts also as one of the witnesses. The scribe, moreover, was in almost every case a priest of some temple, in whose hands this art remained, for the sufficient reason that all science in Babylonia is an offshoot of religion. The pupils, accordingly, who were trained in the art of writing and reading were largely such as were destined for the profession of scribe, and since the drawing up of legal enactments constituted the chief part of their work, the educational method was, very properly and very naturally, perfected with this end in view. Hence the words chosen as paradigms and the groups of words were chiefly such as occurred on the legal tablets, while the little phrases and sentences were in most cases the ever-recurring formulas connected with transactions in produce and goods, or such as pertained to the legal regulation of property in dispute. The main purpose, then, served by the text-books of the Babylonians was for the education of the official scribes necessary for commercial transactions. At the same time it must be borne in mind that the education of priests passed beyond the purely practical stage. The rich religious, historical, and astronomical literature which the Babylonians have handed down to us would never have been produced had there not been created in the country a literary spirit, and such a spirit where education reaches out beyond the limits of mere utility. This broader point of view finds recognition, as will be presently pointed out, in the text-book literature, though naturally is not so prominently emphasized.

VI.

Besides the sign lists, the grammatical paradigms, and the little sentences, long topics and word lists were prepared by the pedagogues to illustrate the lexicographical resources of the language and to facilitate the mastery of the vocabulary. The principle guiding the arrangement of this list was either the selection of some general material, such as wood or stone or cloth, and then enumerating objects made of this material, or some general class of objects, as food, and utensils with the existing varieties, was chosen; or some construction, as a house

or ship, followed by a detailed list of the various parts, or a group of words was chosen and all kinds of synonyms, both of sound and sense, put down without any fixed order.

In many of these lists, again, the point of departure will be found to be the occurrence of the object or material in the legal literature, and the purpose of the exercise thus becomes again a purely practical one, acquainting the future scribe with the names, significance, and the manner of writing and reading of the innumerable objects that he may be called upon to introduce into a tablet. The greater the knowledge of the scribe regarding the practical affairs of life, more especially farming, house-building, manufactures, commercial products, the more expert would he be in his profession. The temples served as the archives where the legal documents were deposited. Through excavations over 100,000 tablets have been recovered, and this represents but a small proportion of the legal literature that once existed in the Euphrates valley.

A German scholar, Dr. Zehnpfund, has recently extracted from several thousand such legal tablets, published by Father Strassmaier, some fifty or sixty, all dealing with garments, and which represent contracts and receipts for raw material and for manufactured goods. A large variety of garments are referred to, and it is evidently because of the frequency of this article as the basis of business transactions that a long list of garments was prepared by the pedagogues, from which the pupil might learn all the kinds of stuffs that Babylonian merchants dealt in, and at the same time obtain a general view of the descriptive epithets used of the garments in the texts themselves. A published list of this kind contains no less than three hundred combinations of the sign for garment, with some specifying term. There we find a group consisting of garments of various colors:

black garment	dark garment
white garment	green garment

then, again, garments described as new, old, torn, soiled, since all such specifications might occur in bills of sale. A large variety of different cloths are enumerated and it is interesting to see

that many of them are known by the names of places where they were manufactured or worn, such as Elamitic dress, stuff from Guti, from the West-land (*i. e.*, Phoenicia), from Canaan, much as we speak of Cashmere stuffs and Manchester cloth; then various parts of the dress, cloak, tunics, headgear, garments for various classes and occasions—for a deity, for a king, a queen, the ceremonial prayer dress, fine dress, and a term that corresponds closely to our “evening dress.” It will be seen how such lists incidentally throw light upon the life and customs of the Babylonians, and aid in reconstructing the panorama of the ancient civilization of Mesopotamia. In the same way we have long lists of words all introduced by a sign indicating an object made of wood. Such a list includes, *e. g.*, keys, and incidental to this the various names for keys are given, followed by agricultural utensils, goblets, various kinds of woods, as cypress and cedar, and so on.

As a matter of course it is not always to be supposed that those who drew up the lists confined themselves to such articles as are found in the legal tablets. The latter simply formed the point of departure, whereas the aim was to make the lists cover as wide a range as possible. In some cases the relationship to the legal literature is remote. Plants, for example, occur but rarely as objects of sale or in contracts, and yet several long lists have been found, mentioning a large variety of plants, bewildering indeed and still awaiting explanation at the hands of some botanist. Traffic in precious stones was more common and yet the lists of stones are far more extensive than they would be were they limited to such as are found in the texts. Again, only the domestic animals and among these more especially sheep, oxen, horses and mules form subjects of commercial dealings, so that an interesting list, giving the names of many wild animals besides domesticated ones, and various others, furnishing names of insects, have but little connection with the practical knowledge required of a scribe. In short, we see in these lists more clearly than in the other sections of the text-book literature, the extension of the educational sphere to an encyclopædic grasp of the entire lexicography of the language. Had the

Babylonians developed an alphabet in the proper sense, we would have received from the pedagogues systematically arranged dictionaries. In default of this, we have the copious topic lists in which large groups of words are brought together because of their logical connection.

In addition to the topic lists we have tablets in which the association of sound or sense, or both combined, suggests the arrangement of the words. In an example of the latter class, some hundred words are grouped together that may all be included under the general notion of speech and thought. The beginning is made with three words—*pû*, “mouth,” *lishânu*, “tongue,” and *amâtu*, “word”—all evidently associated in idea with one another. Under the first word various expressions are enumerated compounded with *pû*, as:

- to open the mouth
- to direct the mouth
- opening of the mouth
- making mouth, *i. e.*, talk
- shutting mouth, *i. e.*, to be silent
- small of mouth, *i. e.*, not communicative

But before passing on to *lishânu*, a number of entirely different stems and words are introduced which are suggested simply through similarity of sound of *pû* and its derivatives, *e. g.*, *uppu* (encircled), *pattu* (canal), and *apitum* (distress?). The same is the case with *lishânu*, the mention of which leads the compiler on the one hand to introduce phrases of which the word forms an element and that illustrate its usage, and, on the other hand, terms that have only coincidence in sound in common with the word, as, for instance, a phrase, *lashshu*, composed of two words, the former *la*, “not,” and the latter *ishu*, “is,” and signifying, therefore, “there is not.” It has no connection with the word for tongue, except that *lashshu* is a species of “pun” upon *lishânu*. Similarly *amâtu*, “word,” suggests by association of sound *amtu*, “maid-servant,” *emêdu*, “stand,” *ummânâtu*, “soldiery,” *emêtu*, “mother-in-law” and this again *emu*, “father-in-law,” and so on, the one word leading to another until the resemblance to the word from which the series started becomes exceedingly faint.

But all along, the other principle, that of association of ideas, is not lost sight of and so, after exhausting the three words in question, the related stems of "to utter" and "to speak" are taken up and the same process is repeated with them.

These two divisions to be made in the lists under consideration, the topic lists and the word lists, constitute the substitute for our modern dictionaries. The former correspond in a measure to the conversation tables attached to the European guides where the common words and the phrases in daily use are grouped under a large variety of subjects and the vocabulary of the language is thus practically illustrated; the latter reminds one of a modern thesaurus, such, for example, as Roget's standard work where, likewise, starting from some very general and broadly inclusive notion, subdivisions are made into less inclusive headings, and under these are enumerated the words falling within the respective limits. Frequently, too, just as Roget adds in the parallel column the words having just the reverse meaning, so in Babylonian word lists, association of ideas leads to following up a certain group of words with their contraries.

VII.

Attention has already been called to the important fact that the Babylonian scribe was in almost all cases also a priest, attached to one of the numerous temples that were found in all cities. As a priest he was required to have not only a knowledge of the religious rites, but also of the ritual, and in connection with the ritual, of the religious literature, consisting of hymns, prayers, penitential psalms, incantations, oracles, and portents, which grew up in the course of time around the temples. In addition, therefore, to the practical training he received for acting as the recorder of commercial transactions and of the orders of the court and other legal business the young aspirant to priestly distinction had to extend his sphere of knowledge beyond mere expertness in routine work. It may fairly be presumed that his introduction to the literary treasures of a religious character, which formed the pride and distinction of his land, was the last step in the education he received. Hence the

fact that but a small minority of the paradigms and phrases of the text-books, and but few of the word and topic lists, can be brought into connection with the religious literature. The student had already perfected himself in reading and writing before he advanced to this field. What he needed for understanding the hymns and prayers were commentaries explaining the different words and passages. These were either directly attached to the texts themselves, being inserted as notes in smaller characters at the proper place (instead of being relegated to the bottom of the page, as we are in the habit of doing), or special tablets were prepared to go with the texts, in which all the comment needed was given. Such comment was particularly required for texts written wholly or in part in the ideographic method—that is, writing the signs to represent words instead of syllables entering as elements to form words. In the case of the former, the later copies that were made contain a complete transliteration into the phonetic style, while for the latter it was sufficient to accompany the text with a tablet or tablets on which the words written ideographically were reproduced with their phonetic equivalents. Occasionally it happens that both the phonetic transliteration and the “key” to an ideographically written text exist, the difference between the two being that while the former furnishes a running text, in the latter only the simplest form of nouns and stems are given, and it is left to the reader to combine the words in syntactical order.

As offshoots to the religious literature in the proper sense, the cosmogonies and national epics of the Babylonians, which began to be committed to writing at an early period, formed part of the scholar's equipment, for which again aids in the shape of explanatory tablets were prepared by the pedagogues. Again, since the determination of man's fate and the prognostication of future events, for which invariably the priest was consulted, was intimately bound up with the observations of the stars and the heavenly phenomena in general, mathematical and astronomical tablets, consisting of tables and calculations, form another section of the text-book literature of the Babylonians. They are not of much interest to the general student of antiquity, but all

the more so to the mathematician, who is thus enabled to trace the growth of that astronomical science for which the scholars of southern Mesopotamia became famous, until one of the names by which the district was known, "Chaldæa," became synonymous to the classical world with the wisdom acquired through the observation and investigation of the heavenly bodies.

The course of study thus planned for the aspirant to knowledge in ancient Babylonia was made coördinate with the range of intellectual life and pursuits. Beginning with the simplest elements of the language, the young student would be led from one field to another until he himself was ready to take his place in the community, to apply practically, as scribe and priest, the knowledge he had acquired, to become in turn the teacher of others, to gain distinction by copying for the temples and for the royal libraries the literary treasures of the past, and—if such was his happy destiny—to add to his nation's heritage productions from his own stylus.

THE CHRISTIAN'S MANUAL OF ARMS, REV. 2—3.

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JESUS came to send a *sword* upon earth, and he foresaw that his disciples would have to struggle till the end of the age. In line with this thought is the fact that the last book of the New Testament is a book of war. The initial vision of Christ is war-like, as was that of the unnamed angel whom Daniel saw (Rev. 1:12-20). Every promise in the seven letters is to him who *overcometh*. The first symbolic figure out of the sealed book is that of a conqueror (6:1-2). All the redeemed have come out of great tribulation (7:14). The judgments of the Apocalypse are set forth in military dress. Then there is war between Michael and the dragon (12:7), and the dragon makes war with the seed of the woman (12:17), which continues till Satan is bound (20:2). The great beast makes war with the saints (13:7), and there is also the war of the great day of God, to which the kings of the whole earth are gathered (16:14). Babylon is drunken with the blood of saints (17:6). The ten horns and the beast make war against the Lamb (17:14), and the last assault of Satan is presented as a war (20:8).

Since, then, the Apocalypse as a whole is a book of war, and since the seven messages of Christ to the churches have as one aim to show how each member may overcome in this conflict, we may call these messages the Christian's *Manual of Arms*.

The teaching of this manual groups itself under four heads: (1) Christ's "*I know*;" (2) soldierly qualities; (3) the appeal to fear; and (4) the appeal to Christian ambition.

Let us glance at each of these heads.

Near the beginning of each of the seven letters stands the solemn "*I know*" of Christ. The Speaker, however, does not call himself Christ, but uses some more or less symbolical epithet

which gives a peculiar meaning to his declaration that he *knows* the circumstances of each church. The designation in the letter to Ephesus is general, and applies to all the churches (2:1). It is the one who holds the seven stars in his right hand and who walks in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks, in other words, the one who as Chief Shepherd has authority over the shepherds of the churches, and the one who personally inspects the condition of each church, who says *I know.*

In the letter to Smyrna, where the disciples are exposed to imprisonment and death, the Speaker characterizes himself as the eternal one, who was dead and lived (2:8). That fact makes his knowledge of the Smyrna church peculiarly comforting. Each member of the church can say: "He whose life has been proved to be indestructible knows my peril, and makes my life also indestructible."

In the letter to Pergamum, where the adversaries of Christ were strong and where there was gross sin within the church, the Speaker describes himself as the one who has the sharp, two-edged sword (2:12). This is suggestive both for those who are disobeying him, and in a different way for the faithful who are hard pressed by Satan. The sword that avenges delivers.

The Author speaks of himself in the letter to Thyatira as the Son of God, whose eyes are like a flame of fire and whose feet are like burnished brass (2:18). The Jezebelites in that church, who under cover of the Christian name live to the flesh, may well tremble at the thought of the knowledge of him whose eyes flame and whose feet crush.

In the letter to Sardis, where the church as a whole was dead though having a name to live, the Author describes himself as the one who has the Seven Spirits of God (3:1), elsewhere seen to be a symbol of the Holy Spirit (1:4). Let this church, then, which has a flourishing reputation, bear in mind that he who is writing to it has a knowledge of what is beneath the surface.

Christ speaks of himself in the letter to Philadelphia as the consecrated and genuine one, who has royal authority (3:7). In this city there were Jews who were being reached by the gospel (3:9), and this fact accounts for the titles which are used. He

who is *consecrated*, that is, set apart to the Messianic work (see John 10:36), and *genuine*, that is, the genuine Messiah, and not a false Messiah, as the Jews had said, he it is who knows the works of the Philadelphians. The door of opportunity which he has opened to them, they are to enter in the assurance that no one can shut it.

Finally, in the letter to Laodicea, where the church was in a deplorable state, the Speaker describes himself as *the Amen, the faithful witness*, and the active principle in creation (3:14). It is such an one who *knows* the Laodiceans and who writes sharp words of rebuke to them. These words will stand. Yet there is a thought of comfort associated with the Speaker's knowledge. He who was the agent in the creation of the universe might be the agent in the restoration of a fallen church.

Second, the *Manual of Arms* mentions various soldierly qualities. Thus the soldier of Jesus who will overcome must have *patience*, "the queen of the virtues" (2:2, 19; 3:10). He must be able to bear a heavy load without complaining, and to hold out resolutely in the good way.

Again, the soldier of Christ will be *morally impatient* with men who claim the Christian name but who are evil (2:2). He will be stirred with hot indignation toward would-be apostles and will put them to the test. This moral impatience with evil under a Christian garb is a soldierly quality with which Christ is pleased (2:6).

The *Manual* calls also for *faithfulness* (2:10), even that which goes to the length of laying down life if need be. Antipas of Pergamum illustrated this quality (2:13). It is equivalent to *holding Christ's name* (2:13), and springs out of a true faith, as service springs out of love (2:19). And *love* itself is another soldierly quality found in the Christian's *Manual of Arms* (2:4, 19). The love required is *the first love*, that is, an ardent and self-sacrificing love. This will work and minister. The soldier must see to it that this be not lost.

The *Manual* dwells still more on the importance of *chastity*. The two sins that had worked the greatest harm in the churches were eating sacrificial meat and committing fornication. This

leaven seems to have been at work in Ephesus, Pergamum, and Thyatira (2:14, 15, 20). It may well be that John, like Paul (see 1 Cor. 10:23-28), did not regard the eating of sacrificial meat as an act sinful in itself. The danger of it may have lain wholly in its association. In the Gentile temples of his day the grossest immorality was connected with the feasts to the gods. So the eating of sacrificial meat may have been prohibited because it was a first step toward unchastity. The abomination in which this sin was held by the Lord of the church is seen in the terms which he applies to it. It is the doctrine of Balaam, that is, purely heathenish (2:14). Its advocate in Thyatira is called Jezebel, the most odious female name in Israel's history (2:20). The *deep things* which she claimed to teach are really deep things of Satan (2:24). Against everyone guilty of this sin will come the sword of judgment from the mouth of the Lord (2:16). Another soldierly quality is *genuineness*. The Christian soldier must seek to have his works *fulfilled* before God (3:2). He must be alive in his sight even though he be regarded as dead by men. He must beware of the sin of Sardis, which professed godliness but denied the power thereof.

Finally, the Christian soldier must be *spiritually minded*. This quality, like the two preceding, is taught by warning against its opposite. The church at Laodicea was materialistic. The members said, each one, "I am rich, and what is more, I have gotten these riches myself, and I have need of nothing" (3:17). They live and move and have their being in the things of this world, which can be seen and handled and tasted. They have fallen from the love of the Father to the love of the world, and are entangled by the lust of the flesh and the lust of the eyes and the vain glory of life (1 John 2:15, 16). They have become nearly blind to spiritual realities, and do not appreciate that they are poor and blind and naked in spirit (3:17). The Christian name which they still bear represents all that Satan has left them of their heritage. The Lord declares that this sort of religion sickens him. It is tepid water which one involuntarily and violently spews out of the mouth. The Christian soldier, then, must be on his guard

against materialism, if he wishes to please Him who has called him into his service.

The third element in the *Manual of Arms* is the appeal to fear. Thus the Lord threatens to move the Ephesian candlestick out of its place unless the members of the church regain their first love (2:5). To be moved out of its place is to forfeit the Lord's fellowship and the privilege of shining for him. The condition of things in Pergamum required more vigorous language. The Lord calls for repentance, and adds: "Otherwise I come to thee quickly, and will fight against them with the sword of my mouth" (2:16). The sword of his mouth is his word of judgment, which overthrows and destroys (19:12). A similar warning is given to those in Thyatira who are guilty of the same sin (2:23). The formal Christians of Sardis are threatened in a way that leaves much to the imagination. The Lord says: "If thou dost not watch, I will come as a thief, and thou shalt by no means know in what hour I come against thee" (3:3). They are thus left in the condition of soldiers in an enemy's country, who are liable at any hour of day or night to sudden surprise and destruction. Finally, to the Laodiceans the warning is in the words: "I will spew thee out of my mouth" (2:16). The essential thought that underlies this figure is that Jesus will utterly cease to own these persons unless they repent.

The fourth and last element in the *Manual of Arms* is the appeal to Christian ambition. No one of the letters, not even that to Laodicea, is without its appeal to hope by the glories of the future. The last word is never one of threatening, but of promise. These promises of the seven letters are largely original in their symbolism, and are elaborated with evident delight. Together they constitute an appeal to Christian ambition that is without parallel in the promises of Scripture.

There are four dominant thoughts in these promises. First in order is that of *life*. Thus the victor shall eat of the tree of life, which is in God's paradise (2:7); he shall not be hurt of the second death (2:11); he shall eat of the hidden manna (2:17); his name shall not be blotted out of the book of life

(3:5); and he shall abide forever in the temple of God (3:12). No two of these promises are identical, though they all have the same general burden. *Eating of the tree of life*—the tree of the old Eden transplanted to the new paradise (Gen. 2:9; 3:22)—expresses participation in the life of the Messianic kingdom. Not to be hurt of the *second death*, *i. e.*, the suffering appointed to the wicked beyond the final judgment (20:14; 21:8), is only another way of saying that the victor shall share in eternal life. But the change in expression is significant. The language calls up that which the faithful disciple escapes, and this is of such tremendous importance that deliverance from it is ample reward for all the struggle of earth. The *hidden manna* suggests other associations than gather about the tree of life, but its essential thought is the same. It stands for the heavenly life, just as the historical manna meant physical life to the Israelites. It is still life that is promised to the victor, in the assurance that his name shall not be blotted out of the book of life which is kept in heaven, and also in the assurance that he shall abide perpetually in the temple of God. He shall abide in it as a pillar, *i. e.*, he shall continue there as long as the temple itself continues.

The second thought in the promises is that the victor will have *recognition* for all that he has passed through. Christ will give him a new name which no one knows but himself and his Lord (2:17). As this new name is a reward for the earthly struggle, it seems most natural to regard it as epitomizing that struggle. This view is confirmed by the statement that each victor's new name is *unknown* to all other men, for in reality no man knows the conflicts of any other soul than his own, and therefore cannot understand the new name which characterizes those conflicts.

A third element in the promises is *honor*. Thus to the victor in the church at Thyatira is promised authority over the nations. He shall shepherd them with an iron rod, as the vessels of a potter are broken in shivers. This authority will be such as Christ received from the Father (2:26, 27). The Lord here applies to his victorious disciple the same language that the Second Psalm applies to the Messianic King. The essential

thought of the promise is that the overcoming disciple shares in the high position of the Master who has overcome. That Master is king over all kings and lord over all lords, and his follower who has kept his word unto the end becomes a partaker of that honor.

In line with this is the promise that the victor shall be clothed in white (3:4), and that Christ will confess his name before the Father and the angels (3:5). Likewise it is a mark of honor for a disciple to have the name of God upon him and the name of God's city (3:12). It testifies that he belongs to God and has the freedom of the city of God. This idea of heavenly honor for the victor is perhaps expressed even more forcibly when Christ promises that the victor shall sit with him on his throne, as he, Christ, overcame and sat down with the Father on his throne (3:21). Thus the Messiah treats his triumphant follower as his brother. He could offer him no higher honor.

The last thought in the promises to the victor is that of a higher appreciation of Christ and completer fellowship with him. The Lord promises to his disciples his own *new* name (3:12; comp. 19:12). This new name of Christ, since name stands for character, seems to imply that there are riches in him which will not be appreciated by the disciple while on earth. If this interpretation be correct, it is plain that the victor is to have a completer fellowship with the Lord as a reward for his earthly struggle. This truth is also involved in the promise of the Morning Star (2:28), for the Morning Star is a symbol of Christ (22:16). But since the Christian possesses Christ even now, by whose aid alone he wins his victory, and since the reward will naturally be something that he does not already possess, we are constrained to hold that the promise of the Morning Star implies a completer possession of Christ than has been realized on earth. Such, then, is the great appeal to the Christian soldier's ambition. It is given to the faithful disciple, and, preceded by more or less severe rebuke, is also given to the unfaithful disciple. It is the last note to fall upon the ear in the case of the first three letters, and in the last four it is

followed only by the injunction to hear what the Spirit says to the churches, an injunction which refers to the promise no less than to the remainder of each letter. And so this sevenfold promise, which must well-nigh exhaust the vocabulary of glory, forms the closing part of the Christian's *Manual of Arms*. But ever just before the promise, as the way leading to its realization, stand the words *τῷ νικῶντι*, "to him who overcomes," and this overcoming covers the entire campaign of the individual life.

EXPOSITORY PREACHING WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE EPISTLE OF JAMES.

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ALL true preaching is expository ; and any other kind, whatever it may be, is not preaching. An ethical essay, a pious exhortation, a holy entertainment of anecdotes, with or without a peg on which to hang the moral ; a lecture about biblical criticism, a religious on-looker's view of passing events, may, by an elastic canon of exclusion, be tolerated in the pulpit, but we should separate in our thought such performances from the idea of preaching. That alone is a true sermon which is a mouth-piece of the oracles of God. He alone is a true preacher who heeds the injunction, Preach the Word, and so, in a sense, it is true that all preaching is expository ; an exposition, or setting forth, of the Scriptures, a showing forth of the meaning of the Word of God and its bearings on human life, knowledge, belief and conduct. The most humble untutored attempt to set forth the Scriptures is a better sermon than the finished, ethical lecture not interwoven with the text of the Sacred Word, as the light is brighter which comes through glass with a flaw in it than it is when it comes through the most richly stained window. Preaching, whatever it may have become, is only true to its original norm and pattern when it opens the Scriptures. This was what Christ did on that road going down to Emmaus, and the hearts of his two auditors "burned within them" as he expounded the Word. This was what Paul did in the synagogues, "opening and alleging." Preaching in the apostolic age had this sole and exclusive characteristic.

Generally, then, it may be affirmed that preaching, if it is to sound a true note, must be expository ; specifically, however, we have in use a queer and rather humiliating phrase, "expository

preaching." As if one should speak of dialectical reasonings, mechanical mechanism, and so on, and yet we assign to expository preaching a distinct, and, I greatly fear, an inferior place. We dominate the study where we prepare for the Sabbath, with popular tests, with best methods to fill the pews, with pious clap-trap, forgetting that a greater than Jonah preached to less than Jonah, and a greater than Solomon found less to hear his superior wisdom. We laugh at the Salvation Army which drum-beats men into the kingdom and tickles new converts with a military title, but, pray, what right have we, who resort to the clap-trap of sensational advertisements or announcements, to laugh at them. The tailless monkeys of Borneo laughed at the monkeys of the Sumatra because they had no tails, and could not see that they themselves were without them. And so a glance at the Saturday's daily paper is fatal to all our boasts of less dramatic tactics than those of the red-jersey and poke-bonnet missionaries. Modern preachers, with their silly topics, live in too crystalline a house to throw stones at the fellow who goes by with distended cheeks tooting for Jesus on a big bass horn, for he might say, with apparent justice, My method of shooting brings down the birds, my method of fishing encloses the catch! And so the poor modern preacher goes on from topic to topic, finding the topic in the street, in the office, in the field, and then putting before his composition a text of Scripture, to give it a sort of quasi-religious or expository cast. It has, therefore, come about that a very great deal of modern preaching, so called, is merely the accumulated data of ethics or experience which the preacher has either felt or observed. Instead of drinking from the fresh, sparkling, and clear springs which rise perennially in the Word of God, he is content with the muddied pool of his own reflections and conclusions. He too often gets his topic from "the times;" and brings to his pulpit lessons of the last calamity, the newest show in town, the latest "strike." Sometimes, if he be an Episcopal minister, he is content to sit down with a pre-arranged church year, and slavishly follow it. Often he feels called upon to commence all these so-called sermons with a text, but whereas a text means something woven into the texture of

the discourse, this modern topical preacher wants to get it out of the way as soon as possible. His great egotistic theory of sermon construction is, What do I think about this subject? Who cares what he thinks? This is not a priest-ridden age. What does God say on this or that point of life and conduct? "To the law and to the testimony!" Only so shall he feed the flock. Only so shall he edify, build up the church. Only so can his ministry be like a cloud of blessing unlocking its refreshing moisture upon the souls which have been diligently and faithfully sown with divine truth. He may be ever so sincere, indefatigable, and hopeful, but the condition of effective and true preaching is that the Word is preached, without which his field is a desert on which not even the appearance of verdure is present.

Let us dismiss, then, from our thought merely topical preaching, so called. Whatever else it is and however valuable it may be—and I concede its value used wisely—it is not preaching. We come, then, to two specific kinds of expository preaching—the "textual" and the so-called "expository;" and I conceive that the only real difference between the two is, stated briefly, this:

Both are expository, but the "expository" specifically so named deals with a larger amount of Scripture at a time, a paragraph, a section, a chapter, perhaps, and deals with the Scripture consecutively. The textual method may become topical or expository, according as the preacher suits the bit of Scripture to something in his own mind, or suits himself to the exact thought in the author's mind. All the printed sermons of Bushnell are textual, and, by a happy unifying of the thought and a strict observance of the law of the "unities," become, to a certain extent, topical, but they are matchless and true expositions as well. Yet "expository" sermons, as we have them in our mind, are such as those in the recent book of Dr. Dale, on the Epistle of James; F. W. Robertson's, on "Corinthians and Genesis;" Arnot's "The Church in the House, the same being lectures on the Book of the Acts," etc. It may be said, in passing, that the method of the modern evangelists, however we

may judge their school of thinking, is expository; and it may be inferred that perhaps the reason of Mr. Moody's success is to be found, not in his musical satellite, nor in his homely, pungent, and practical wisdom, nor in his advertised coming and the machinery of preparation, nor in his career now so noted, but in the fact that he is permeated through and through with biblical truth. Exposition is his only purpose, his only claim, his strong point; and though it may grate on our nerves to see pictures of his Bible all torn and thumbed and written upon—one such appeared in a weekly print not long ago—yet we cannot get around the fact that he claims to be a biblical preacher. Expository preaching, then, is the unfolding of the sacred oracles in consecutive order. It is an attempt to explain and enforce scriptural truth, to analyze the thought of the sacred writers, and set that forth in logical order, with practical lessons growing out of the same. It is a consideration of the text with an exegete's purpose, unbiased by a theologian's habit of thought, uninfluenced by a critic's merciless temper. It is the interpretation of an author by natural methods, the study of books of the Bible as to their dominant idea and main purpose, the orderly development of this thought or purpose, the explanation of an author's mind by that author's mind, Moses by Moses, Jesus by Jesus, Paul by Paul, the communication of the largest amount of biblical truth, and, above and between, and accompanying it all, the humble, earnest purpose to have the Spirit of God press home to our hearts the lessons which are constantly arising vividly before the thought. There is to be no restriction as to the length of the passage, but only an orderly procedure from paragraph to paragraph through whatever book may be up for study.

This, then, is expository preaching, and I would not be understood as saying that it is the only kind of preaching, but that it can be made very interesting, should have its place in the work of the pulpit now and then at certain seasons of the year, or possibly once in a while for a series of evening sermons, and is adapted to procure the best results.

What, then, are some of the advantages of this so-called expository preaching?

1. It imparts biblical truth, and hence more nearly conforms to the theory and aim of preaching.

2. The church which has the largest amount of biblical teaching will be blessed. The Berean type of church life is the norm for all the ages. It is written that the church in Berea received the word and examined the Scriptures daily, and therefore it is said that they were "more noble" than other disciples of the apostle Paul. If we believe anything we must cling firmly to this: God *will bless* his Word. He does not promise to bless our lecture on the new arbitration treaty, or on Cuba; our essay upon Nansen's work of discovery, or our talk on the "unearned increment;" but he does set his seal to the promise that his "word shall not return to him void." Here is the secret of conversions, of results.

3. Expository preaching can be made popular. Look at Taylor, McLeod, Dale, Robertson—all popular preachers. The centuries are full of them. Even Henry Ward Beecher, who may not be thought of in this connection, was during his long ministry at certain times much given to this form of teaching. I can remember an interesting series of his expository sermons on the Book of Joshua before audiences which crowded the vast auditorium to the doors. Indifference to the expository method on the part of the ministry proceeds from ignorance of its interest to and power over the people. The modern evangelists attest its popularity.

4. The expository method presents Scripture in its entirety. The textual method takes here one and there another verse of the Bible, and like bees sucking honey out of the same kind of flowers, the textual preacher gets in the way of lighting upon the same thoughts in different verses. If he has preached upon the "Love of God" from "God is love," he will, like as not, try it again from "He beareth the lambs in his bosom," and so on, *ad infinitum*, ever the same themes recurring. As the Episcopal order of service provides for the reading of the whole Bible through the year, the expository method brings before the congregation connected and perfected knowledge of the whole Bible.

5. This method provides delicately a way for treating doctrine and for rebuking modern evils. The need of the people is a "reason for the hope that is within them," or doctrinal enrichment, and greater conformity to the pattern set before us on the mount where Christ preached his matchless sermon. It is sometimes hard for the textual preacher to screw his courage up to the point of either a doctrinal sermon or a philippic against modern vices. To preach a doctrinal sermon might put his hearers to sleep, he fears; to preach a sermon of denunciation of present-day iniquity might wake them so thoroughly that, like the people of Gadara, his people would "beseech him to depart out of their borders." Expository preaching presents a way of rebuking; it comes up naturally in the passage, just as the doctrine did. It must be treated. The minister has not picked out his theme because of personal reasons, but because it is forced upon him by the Scripture he is expounding.

6. The expository method lends power to the sermon. The expository preacher speaks with authority and not as the ethical lecturer, or retailer of anecdotes. A "thus saith the Lord" permeates all his preaching. The people see that he is clothed with authority, and they listen gladly because of the note of certainty, conviction, power, authority, they detect in his preaching. Herein is the peril of essays on economic subjects, lectures on passing events, etc.—they lack authority. Herein is the differentiation of pulpit and press, in that the former speaks, or at least can speak, with authority. This is the advantage of the pulpit. The picture business in the pulpit entertains, the secular lecture attracts and instructs, but the pulpit is neither for the showman nor for the lecturer, but for the messenger of God, who comes with a message of authority out of God's Word.

7. The expository method is good for the preacher. It has a reactionary benefit. To sit right down with the implements of a student's industry, ancient texts and a dictionary and a concordance, to work at the text with critical helps, and prepare a scholar's exposition of the Word, leavened through and through by prayer for guidance—the art of the critic never

overshadowing the heart of the preacher—this is the way to crowd our minds with Scriptures. The expository preacher's workshop is full of chips—textual memoranda—not dry and juiceless either, which fly off from every attempt of his to perfect his knowledge of the Scripture; or, to change the figure, it is astonishing how deep the well of the Scripture is—depths beneath depths—if we let our bucket down far enough—fresh, sparkling, refreshing draughts of the Water of Life, if we do more than drink from the surface.

Expository sermons are after all the sermons which live in literature. Robertson's sermons on Corinthians are a contribution to all time, and this whole subject is forced upon us afresh by the appearance of Dr. Dale's *Expository Lectures on the Epistle of James*. The book contains ten lectures, with the subjects as follows: (1) James, the Brother of our Lord. (2) The Gospel of Suffering. (3) Temptations and Trials. (4) Hearing and Doing. (5) Respect of Persons. (6) Faith and Works. (7) The Perils of Speech. (8) The Discipline of the Tongue. (9) The Wisdom from Above. (10) Christian Worldliness. A review of this book would be a review of the epistle itself. The book is a demonstration of the truth which Robinson uttered: "More light shall break forth from God's Word." It is food for the Bible student.

As a conclusion I present a list of subjects for discourses gained by a careful study of this book and of the text itself, which may indicate something of the value of the expository method.

1. James, the brother of the Lord; or, lessons concerning conversion, for this brother once did not believe in Jesus.
2. Rejoice in temptation, etc.; or, virtue the measure of one's resistance of temptation. Subject, Temptation, its origin, its power to help, etc. Teaching of Lord's Prayer, how harmonized with this.
3. Let patience have its perfect work; or, the perfecting power of a quiet, patient, waiting life. Subject, Patience.
4. Let the rich man rejoice, etc.; message of the gospel to the men of wealth of today. Scripture teachings concerning wealth.
5. Let the poor man rejoice in his high estate; or, message of the gospel to the poor, or the submerged not "tenth" but half.

6. Every good gift, etc.; or, the recognition of God as the bountiful giver.
7. Not hearers, but doers of the Word; or, the duty of doing. Dr. Dale dwells upon that definition of James—to *visit* the fatherless, or personal acquaintance with suffering, not acquaintance with them by the proxy of someone whom we pay to go to visit them.
8. Have not the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ with respect of persons; or, Christianity the obliteration of class distinctions.
9. He who offends in one point, etc.; or, the heinousness of sin.
10. Faith without works; or, the nature of true faith as distinguished from mere creed subscription. Works the test.
11. My brethren, be not many teachers; or, the awful responsibility of the teaching office. Dr. Dale's chapter on The Perils of Speech would almost close the lips of the preacher, certainly check crude, extravagant, or doubtful utterance.
12. The perfect man he who gains the mastery over his tongue; or, the profane, impure, and angry words rebuked. A sermon on conversation, profanity, jests, stories, etc.
13. First pure, then peaceable; or, reform work and its spirit.
14. Friendship with the world; or, the deadly serpent's spell of worldliness on so-called Christian character.
15. Tomorrow we will go here and there; or, the dangers of absorption in business life, or the Midas touch of the present day.
16. Elijah prayed earnestly, and the effectual fervent prayer of the righteous man; or, the spirit and power of prayer.
17. He that converteth a sinner, etc.; or, zeal in extending the kingdom by soul winning.

Professor Phelps in his lectures on preaching says: "I am confident that my biblical course saved my pulpit." I firmly believe that the expository method will save all pulpits, because him that honoreth God and his words, will God honor.

Aids to Bible Readers.

THE FORESHADOWINGS OF THE CHRIST. V.

By GEORGE S. GOOD SPEED,
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(1) *A century of gathering gloom.*—(2) *The prophet's larger outlook.*—*Jehovah will restore the nation.*—*He will revive old institutions.*—*But he will make a new covenant.*—(3) *Similar expectations from other prophets and from psalmists.*—*Conclusions.*

VI. FORESHADOWINGS FROM THE TIMES OF JEREMIAH.

1. *A century of gathering gloom.*—The century that intervenes between the last of the messianic addresses of Isaiah and the time of Jeremiah is one that is full of stirring events in the political world. Assyria, while extending the boundaries of her empire under the leadership of two of her most brilliant kings, is yet in reality standing still, if not beginning to decline. Esarhaddon undertakes the conquest of Egypt and Ashurbanipal achieves it. The one pierces far into the northeastern mountains. The latter subjugates Elam. Throughout the years of these two kings Judah doubtless remains for the most part in a state of vassalage to Assyria. Within the state a lamentable reaction has followed the death of Hezekiah. Manasseh, his successor, from causes which it is now difficult to discover, the chief being, perhaps, the failure of the great expectations connected with the retirement of Sennacherib from the west, takes a religious position in direct antagonism to the higher principles of the prophets, and discloses what is rare in the history of ancient religions—a spirit of persecution. The disciples of Isaiah are mercilessly slaughtered. Tradition has it that the old prophet himself is a victim of the king's wrath. The lower forms of the worship of Jehovah are favored in all respects and the king's dependence upon Assyria opens the way for the popularity of Assyrian cults of every sort.

It was not until the accession of Josiah that the violence of the

persecution wore itself out and a new order of things was manifest. This new order had its counterpart and perhaps its cause in the course of events outside the nation. After the death of Ashurbanipal Assyria went rapidly to its fall. The dependent kingdom of Babylon fell away, and its Chaldaean ruler united with the king of the newly appearing nation of Media in opposition to the old Assyrian power. Meanwhile, a horde of nomadic peoples came down from the northern mountains and seemed likely to spread destruction over the entire field of western Asia. These were the Scythians. It is not certain how deeply they penetrated into the heart of this region, or how widespread were their devastations, but the fear of them fell upon all the peoples and their presence helped to dissolve the disordered frame of the Assyrian Empire.

Naturally in Judah things Assyrian were at a discount, and among them, the religion. The persecuted Jehovah prophets of the school of Isaiah came forth to maintain the truth of their master's words. A reformation began under the new king, and, like all reformations instituted after a period of persecution, was extreme in its provisions, and rigorously enforced. A programme for it was found when a book, which is now generally acknowledged to be similar to the Book of Deuteronomy if not identical with it, was discovered and brought to the notice of the king. All things seemed to favor the movement. Assyria was hard pressed by her foes, and her heavy hand was lifted from the countries on the Mediterranean coast. Judah was free. Josiah brought northern Israel under his sway and under the influences of the reformation. When the king of Egypt, who took advantage of the situation to better his fortunes in these regions, started on his march to the Euphrates, Josiah, with the consciousness of divine approval, stopped him with an army on the plain of Esdraelon. But, alas for his faith! his army was smitten, he himself was slain, and Judah became an Egyptian tributary, to be passed in turn into the hand of the Chaldaean, Nebuchadrezzar, who drove Necho back into his own land. Naturally the reformation came to an end, the old popular faith resumed its place, and Judah hastened with rapid steps to its destruction.

The spiritual hero and representative of these last sad years is Jeremiah, the prophet. Times have changed since the court statesman and prophet, Isaiah, preached deliverance, permanence, and peace. There is no deliverance for this corrupt people now. The holy city and its temple are certain to fall into the hands of the conqueror and

be destroyed. The prospect of a captivity in a foreign land or of obscurity and poverty at home stands in the forefront of the seer's horizon.

2. *The prophet's larger outlook.*—The immediate present and impending future are not, however, all that Jeremiah sees. After the dark cloud of destruction, dissolution, and captivity is passed, he beholds a happier day to come.

a. His unquestioning faith in the all-embracing, all-foreseeing, all-energizing Jehovah lies at the basis of his picture. Just as to the vision of Isaiah Jehovah held in his hand the rod of the Assyrian for punishment of his people, but broke it in pieces at his own good pleasure, so now in the thought of the prophets of this troubled time he brings the Chaldaean as the scourge to punish, as the flood to overwhelm, the nation, its king and its temple; and he who thus is present wielding the world powers in punishment will also bring about the restoration and the salvation of his people from their calamities and sins. The prophet urges with great force that the very calamities and punishments which have been brought to bear by Jehovah are proofs that he can restore. They reveal the measure of blessing which he will ultimately bestow (32:42).

But what leads Jehovah to this marvelous manifestation of mercy toward a wretched and unworthy nation? Here Jeremiah reminds us of Hosea. It is Jehovah's love, an everlasting love, that constrains him to deliver (31:3). He is a father to Israel. Ephraim is his firstborn (31:9). He cannot refrain from blessing.

b. Jeremiah's outlook, starting as it does from the certainty of the utter destruction of the national life, and dependent upon the assurance of the divine love, finds its central thought in the prospect of *restoration*. He cannot think, as Isaiah did, of the deliverance of the people. It is too late. There is no hope. The unbroken continuance of the national life, which was the main plank in the platform of the earlier prophet, quite disappears. But the overthrow is not the end of the state. Jehovah having brought this about is constrained also by the irresistible might of his own affection to bring the people together again and reestablish their nationality. The prophet also expects as the concomitant of the divine redemption a repentance of the people. They shall return in tears, declaring their sin (31:9, 15-19). This great and crowning work of restoration is the culminating evidence of the might of Jehovah (23:7, 8). This is the great and difficult thing which he will show (33:3-6). This is a world event

to be announced to the nations, and to cause them to fear (31:7-10; 33:9). We observe some elements in the picture:

(1) The restoration which presents itself to the prophet is one which implies the *preservation and heightening* of many elements of their past life. (a) They are to be restored to their home and city. (b) It is to be glorified, enlarged so as to take in its suburbs (30:18; 31:38-40; 23:3, 8).

(c) Two institutions of the past are especially mentioned as to be revived. The *levitical priesthood* shall be an element in the new life, and their sacrificial duties shall continue as before, presumably in the temple (33:18-22), and Ephraim shall go up as before to Zion. The *monarchy* shall resume its place, one of the house of David taking his seat upon the throne. He shall be a righteous ruler, and under him Israel and Judah shall prosper exceedingly, full of joy and gladness (26:5, 6; 33:15-16, 17, 21). Thus in the purified and glorious state the old life will be renewed, and now all shall be continued forever, as long as the universe endures (33:17-26).

(2) But the real contribution of Jeremiah to the thought of the future does not lie in these pictures of the revival of old conditions wherein he is at one with those who have gone before him, but rather in the expectation which he cherishes that in some respects the new community will make *an essential and complete break with the past*. (a) In his description of the glorified city and its revived monarchy he declares that city and king will both bear the name "Jehovah, our righteousness." This phrase suggests more than can well be put into a few words. We should hardly see in Jeremiah's employment of it the New Testament doctrine of imputed righteousness, for probably no such thought lay in the mind of the prophet. Yet it seems clear that the prophet expected the righteousness characteristic of the new age to be brought about by the act of Jehovah himself. Not merely would Jehovah be accepted as the standard of righteousness, but the impulse and energy to reach this standard would come from him. Even if this doctrine were involved in what earlier prophets had said about Jehovah's cleansing and purifying his people, their suggestions contemplated rather a sifting process whereby those who were already righteous or who might of their own accord turn from their iniquity for fear of the divine vengeance would make up the people of the new age. But Jeremiah meant more than this. To him there was little hope that enough of the righteous remnant remained to be of any avail. If there were not enough to save the nation from destruc-

tion, how could it be hoped that there were enough to form the nucleus of the future state? And so, out of these gloomy and apparently hopeless conditions Jeremiah rose to the high and heavenly thought of Jehovah himself producing righteousness in his people.

(b) Naturally the first condition of this was the forgiveness of sins. This forgiveness which Isaiah had already suggested as an element of the new social order (*Isa. 33:24*) was repeated and enlarged by Jeremiah (*31:20, 34*). Closely associated with this pardon was the assurance that it covered all the past, so that henceforth punishment would be inflicted for one's own sin. One was not to suffer for those of his ancestors.

(c) And Jeremiah summed this all up in his declaration that the new state would be founded upon *a new covenant* with Jehovah, the old having been dissolved (*31:34*). Herein Jehovah agrees not merely to give them a law and statutes by which they are to regulate their action and relation to him, but promises to plant this law deep down in their hearts, so that it will be a part of themselves. It will be a matter of inward knowledge and possession. Thus with their duty at one with their impulses and their knowledge, there will be no further need of teachers to instruct them as to the will of Jehovah. This covenant will be everlasting (*32:40*).

It seems as though with these words Jeremiah had transcended the limits of his own previous teaching, for surely in such a day as the one in prospect here, neither prophets nor priests will be required to mediate between the people and Jehovah. And while no reference is made to any messianic person as the medium of Jehovah's deed, who can doubt that the teaching embodies one of the most remarkable foreshadowings of the Christian faith?

3. *Other prophetic utterances* of this time, while they do not reach the height of Jeremiah's insight, still bear testimony in harmony with his. Zephaniah looks forward to a similar glorious future when only the faithful shall remain, glorified and at peace. He, too, ascribes all this consummation to Jehovah, who is in the midst of his people. The prophet expresses the attitude of Jehovah towards them as that of one whose love is so great that there are no words in which he can utter it. To this community shall the nations come that they may worship its God (*Zeph. 3:8-20*).

Habakkuk beholds Jehovah coming in glorious majesty to disperse and punish the enemy, to save his people and their king. The prophet is overwhelmed at the sight. Yet though disaster appears on every hand, he will trust and rejoice in Jehovah's salvation.

Psalms such as the 80th, 89th, and 132d seem to reflect the historical conditions of this time, and out of them, in trust in the promises of Jehovah, to look for better days. Has not Israel been chosen and cherished as a vine by Jehovah? Has he not selected the house of David and promised him wide dominion, and made a covenant with him which even wickedness among his sons cannot annul? Surely, then, the time shall come when the present evil case shall cease, when Zion shall again be Jehovah's favorite habitation, when David's enemies shall be discomfited and he exalted.

Some concluding reflections may be considered:

(1) In comparison with the teachings of Isaiah regarding the future those of Jeremiah show (*a*) a similar limitation to the nation Israel. It is in the forefront of their vision and the object of their interest. Jeremiah's is the more passionate as his nature is the more emotional and the crisis of the nation's life more terrible and gloomy. The prospect that opens before both finds its completion in the beatific glorification of the nation. But (*b*) the nature of the gulf that stretched for Jeremiah between the present and the future forced him to a more ideal and sublime, a more spiritual, solution than was revealed to Isaiah. As outward permanence seemed impossible, the thought of the future centered on the inward life which Jehovah from his own fullness would revive in his own time. Only thus far did the prophet reach in the idea of the relation of the individual to Jehovah, that he conceived the nation as an individual in whose heart the divine law would be placed. But the employment of this image would suggest the other and richer thought. Here Jeremiah nearly touches an essential element of the gospel, the relation of God to the soul.

(2) Jeremiah himself in the manifold experience and wonderful development of his personal and public character is after all the most striking foreshadowing. He carried Israel and Jehovah in his own heart. The one was broken and revived in him. The other revealed his love and power through him. There was the nation in the individual. There was the communion of God and man, the suffering, the redemption, the restoration which were accomplished within,—the prophecy and assurance of the sorrow and triumph of the Cross.

Inductive Studies in the Acts.

By CLYDE W. VOTAW,
The University of Chicago.

THE PRIMITIVE ERA OF CHRISTIANITY.

AS RECORDED IN THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

30-63 A. D.

SEC. 9. THE CONVERSION OF PAUL FROM JUDAISM TO CHRISTIANITY.

Acts 9:1-19a; cf. 22:6-16 and 26:13-18. 34 A. D. Damascus.

I. STUDY OF THE FACTS.

Let the following subclassification of the material in this section be verified, corrected, or improved :

- Par. 1. 9:1, 2, . . . Persecution of the Damascus Christians.
- Par. 2. 9:3-9, The Revelation of Jesus to Paul.
- Par. 3. 9:10-19a, The Divine Commission through Ananias.

1. Prepare an abstract, in your own language, of the facts recorded in this section. Make it as well proportioned and as accurate as possible.

2. Of the incidents attending the conversion of Paul there are three distinct narratives: (1) Acts 9:3-19a; (2) Acts 22:6-16; (3) Acts 26:12-18. To arrive at the exact facts, therefore, it is necessary to make a careful comparative study of all three accounts. This the student is expected to do, working out of all three the harmonized details of the events. Let the most important differences in the three narratives be noted and explained, and a decision be reached as to which account is most trustworthy.

II. TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION.

1. *Paul's mission to Damascus*.—What is the connection between Acts 9:1 and 8:1-3? Observe the titles used in this chapter to

designate the Christians: "disciples" (vs. 1), those "of the way" (vs. 2), and "saints" (vs. 13); with the aid of a concordance look up other passages where these designations occur. Locate Damascus upon the map, and learn something about the city as it then was. How came there to be Christians in that city? Why was this persecution of the disciples carried as far as Damascus? Why did Paul secure letters from the high priest for this mission? What was the purport of them? What did the Sanhedrin at Jerusalem have to do with the synagogues in Damascus or elsewhere? Explain how the disciples were subject to legal persecution for their adherence to Christ. What was to be done with Christians found in Damascus?

2. *The revelation of Jesus to Paul.*—Observe and consider separately the incidents connected with the vision: *a*) vicinity of Damascus, *b*) midday, *c*) shekinah, *d*) in which Jesus appeared to Paul, *e*) stunning blindness, *f*) a voice from heaven, *g*) Jesus' question, "Saul, Saul," etc., *h*) Jesus' word, "It is hard," etc., *i*) Paul's reply, "Who art thou, Lord?" *j*) Jesus' answer, "I am," etc., *k*) Paul's second question, "What wilt," etc., *l*) command to go into the city and receive his commission, *m*) continued blindness, *n*) three days' fast. Why should the revelation to Paul have been attended by such striking circumstances? What was the need of the vision itself to Paul? Why did it come just at that time? Explain Jesus' words to Paul, "It is hard for thee to kick against the goad" (omitted by R. V. from 9:5; cf. 26:14). What did Paul mean by his question, "Who art thou, Lord?" What was the providential purpose of the blindness which came upon Paul? Why the long fast and waiting before he received his commission? What were Paul's spiritual experiences during this period? Consider whether Paul's vision of Jesus was internal or external, subjective or objective, physical or spiritual. Would either kind of vision have accomplished the purpose of the revelation? Compare Paul's vision of Jesus at this time with Jesus' resurrection appearances to the Twelve; were they parallel, and with similar aim?

3. *Paul's preparation for this crisis.*—Consider whether Paul had been providentially prepared for receiving this revelation of Jesus, *a*) by his natural temperament—humane, sincere, and loyal to religious truth; *b*) by his birth and education—a Hellenistic Jew, trained in the liberal school of Gamaliel, and associated with Hellenists; *c*) by his contact with Christian truth—in the Christian preaching, especially of Stephen, which, as a deep thinker and a mentally trained man, he would profoundly consider; *d*) by his contact with the Christians themselves—

witnessing their fine courage, joy, forgiveness, faith, traits nobler than his own religion produced; *e*) by his own spiritual unrest—he had kept the law blamelessly but was not at peace (*cf.* Rom. 7); *f*) by his present inhuman inquisition—his religion had led him into brutal bloodshed and persecution, which he realized was ungodlike and wrong. He was therefore searching for the new light, especially as he meditated upon his course while he journeyed to Damascus.

4. *The conversion of Paul.*—What was Paul's moral and religious character previous to his vision of Jesus (*cf.* Phil. 3:6; Acts 23:1; 1 Tim. 1:13; Acts 26:9; Gal. 1:14; also John 16:2, 3)? Was he completely devoted to the religion of his fathers? Did he earnestly strive to attain perfection of character by obedience to the law? Was he living up to the best religious light of his time before Christ came? Why had not Paul become a Christian before this time? Consider two meanings for the word "conversion": *a*) a turning from sin to holiness, a change from wrong purpose to right purpose, a reversal of moral choice; *b*) a change of ideas, a reversal of belief (and conduct incident thereto) consequent upon the gaining of new knowledge. In which of these two senses can we use the term "conversion" to designate this experience of Paul? Why had he lacked before this the evidence which would convince him of the Messiahship of Jesus? Did the gospel come to him as a divine relief from mistaken thoughts and mistaken deeds? Was Paul slower in accepting Jesus and his teaching than were Jesus' immediate followers?

5. *The divine commission.*—Compare the three different accounts of the substance and the giving of this commission (*cf.* 9:15-17; 22:14, 15; 26:16-18). Note and explain the important variations. Was the commission announced to him by Ananias? If so, why was it announced in this way? Consider the divine communications to both Paul and Ananias, in preparation for their meeting (*cf.* Acts 10:1-23). Was he by Ananias received into Christian brotherhood? Consider that the Holy Spirit baptism was administered to Paul by a common disciple rather than by one of the apostles (*cf.* Acts 8:14-17). Why was Paul called and commissioned apart from the Twelve (*cf.* Gal. 1:16, 17)? Was Paul's commission at the outset a distinct and exclusive appointment to the evangelization of the Gentiles, or did it only later come to be that by force of circumstances (*cf.* Acts 9:22-25; 22:17-21; Gal. 1:16; Rom. 11:13; Eph. 3:8; Rom. 15:16; Gal. 2:2, 7-9; 1 Tim. 2:7; 2 Tim. 1:11)? How long after Paul's conversion before he began his work among the Gentiles? What

peculiar qualifications had Paul for the Gentile mission? Why had no one of the original apostles taken up this work?

III. OBSERVATIONS AND TEACHINGS.

1. *Organization.*—Does the present section contribute any information on this subject?

2. *Environment.*—The persecution of the disciples was carried even to Damascus, where there seem to have been not a few of them.—Damascus was the gateway to the East, through which Christianity might pass to the Jews of the Dispersion in that region; hence Paul's mission to that city.—The Pharisee Paul, one of the ablest and most energetic opponents of Christianity, changed over to the Christian cause.

3. *Institutions.*—Paul received the spirit baptism at Ananias' hands, without the customary mediation of the apostles.

4. *Belief and teaching.*—Paul had had small opportunity to judge of the truth of Jesus' claims or his message; he lacked evidence to convince him of Jesus' Messiahship.—This evidence was providentially supplied to him by his vision of Jesus.—He immediately accepted the new light and entered upon the mission of giving it to others.—His conversion was not a change of heart and purpose, but of belief and action.

5. *Daily life.*—The revelation was attended by many striking circumstances which would impress Paul and his companions with its supernaturalness and significance.—In many natural and providential ways Paul had been prepared for the revelation of Jesus now given to him.—The agency of Ananias served to affiliate Paul with the Damascus Christians.

6. *Divine guidance.*—Paul was a chosen servant of God for the spread of the gospel, especially among the Gentiles.—The conversion of Paul was a most important step in the development of the universal and spiritual conception of the gospel.

Literature.—Upon this section see the commentaries on Acts, especially those of GLOAG, HACKETT, MEYER, and the CAMBRIDGE BIBLE. Also NEANDER, Planting and Training of the Christian Church, Vol. I, pp. 77–90; Vol. II, pp. 88–94; FARRAR, Life and Work of St. Paul, chs. 9 and 10; CONYBEARE AND HOWSON, Life and Epistles of St. Paul, ch. 3; WEIZSÄCKER, Apostolic Age of the Christian Church, Vol. I, pp. 79–93; HATCH, Encyclopædia Britannica, 9th ed., article Paul; BIBLE DICTIONARY, article Paul; SCHAFF, History of the Christian Church, Vol. I, pp. 281–316; STEVENS, The Pauline Theology, pp. 1–26; MATHESON, Spiritual Development of St. Paul, pp. 45–92; SABATIER, The Apostle Paul, pp. 47–67; STALKER, Life of St. Paul, ch. 2.

SEC. 10. PAUL'S EARLY CHRISTIAN ACTIVITY.

Acts 9: 19b-31; cf. Gal. 1: 17, 18 (19-24). 34-37 (37-43) A. D.
Damascus, Arabia, Jerusalem, Cilicia.

I. STUDY OF THE FACTS.

Let the following subclassification of the material in this section be verified, corrected, or improved:

- Par. 1. 9: 19b-22, Paul Preaches Jesus as Messiah at Damascus.
- Par. 2. 9: 23-25, His Forced Departure from the City.
- Par. 3. 9: 26-30, Paul's First Visit as a Christian to Jerusalem.
- Par. 4. 9: 31, Peace and Growth of the Christians.

1. Prepare an abstract of the material contained in this section, giving special attention to accuracy, and originality of language.
2. Observe Paul's own statements in Gal. 1: 17, 18, concerning the events recorded in Acts at this point, gathering the additional facts given.

II. TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION.

1. *Three years of work in Damascus.*—How came Paul to be in Damascus? How long after his conversion before he began preaching Christianity? In what places and to whom did Paul preach? What was his message (*cf.* vss. 20, 22)? How would he prove to Jews that Jesus was the Messiah? In view of his divine commission (*cf.* Sec. 9, Topic 5) why did he not preach to the Gentiles instead of to Jews? How long a time did Paul work in Damascus (*cf.* Gal. 1: 17, 18)? Why does the Acts make no reference to the Arabian sojourn recorded in Gal. 1: 17? At what point does the sojourn come in the Acts account—between vss. 19a and 19b, or between vss. 22 and 23? Consider the two views of this sojourn: *a)* that it was to Mt. Sinai, extending over a year or more of time, and was given to retirement and meditation; *b)* that it did not take Paul far from Damascus, that it was of short duration, and that it was probably for escape from immediate danger to himself from his former associates on account of his joining the Christian cause (*cf.* Acts 9: 29, and the discussions of Ramsay and Weizsäcker cited below). What success attended Paul's work in Damascus? How was it interrupted? What indications does Acts give as to the length of Paul's stay in Damascus (*cf.* vss. 19 and 23)? Why is this matter left so very indefinite by the historian? On his escape from the city (vs. 25) compare 2 Cor. 11: 32, 33 (also Josh. 2: 15; 1 Sam. 19: 12).

2. *Paul's first Christian visit to Jerusalem.*—How long had Paul been away from the city (*cf.* Acts 9:1, 2; Gal. 1:18)? Why had he then left the city, and what had happened to his plans? For what purpose was he now returning to Jerusalem (*cf.* Gal. 1:18)? What did he wish to accomplish by this acquaintance with Peter: *a*) to establish friendly relations with him in spreading the gospel, *b*) to learn more about the facts of Christ's life and his detailed teachings? How was he received at Jerusalem, and why? Who intervened to set things right? How came Barnabas to know of, and vouch for, Paul's sincerity as a Christian? Whom of the apostles did Paul meet at Jerusalem (*cf.* Gal. 1:19), and why not the others also? What did he obtain from this conference? How long did he stay in Jerusalem (*cf.* Gal. 1:18)? Does Acts 9:28, 29 harmonize with the Galatians representation (1:18, 22-24), that Paul went to Jerusalem to visit Peter, stayed but fifteen days, "and was unknown by face to the churches of Judea"? To what class of Jews in Jerusalem did Paul undertake to preach the gospel? Why to them? Compare his experience in this respect with Stephen's (Acts 6:9, 10). What attitude did they take toward him, and why? How did he escape from them? With this explanation of his withdrawal from Jerusalem compare the one given by himself in Acts 22:17-21, to the effect that he received a directly communicated command from Christ and an immediate commission to the Gentile work. Can the two explanations be adjusted to one another?

3. *Paul's evangelizing activity in Syria and Cilicia.*—Indicate upon the map the route which Paul took in returning to Tarsus, his home. When do we next hear of him (*cf.* Acts 11:25, 26)? Where was Paul between his departure from Jerusalem in 37 A. D. and his call to Antioch in 43 A. D. (*cf.* Acts 9:30; Gal. 1:21)? Was he engaged during this period in preaching the gospel and establishing churches in Syria and Cilicia (*cf.* Acts 15:23, 41)? Was Paul in these years addressing himself to Jews chiefly, or to Gentiles—that is, had he yet entered upon his distinctively Gentile mission? In what particulars was this period one of preparation for his subsequent career? Why has so little been recorded about this important period of Paul's work? Consider that Syria and Cilicia formed the next territorial stage in the expansion of the gospel from Jerusalem to Rome.

4. *Condition of the Christians, 37-43 A. D.*—Explain the logical force and connection of the word "so" introducing Acts 9:31. Does it mean that Paul's departure from Jerusalem was the cause of the peace which the verse records; or that peace came because of Paul's

conversion to Christianity? Ascertain the political situation of these years, as to whether the attention of the Jews was directed away from the Christians to their Roman rulers in the disorders of the reign of Caligula and the early years of Claudius. Consider separately and carefully the three descriptive phrases used concerning the condition of the Christians: "being edified," "walking in the fear of the Lord," and "walking in the comfort of the Holy Ghost." Was it not only a period of rest, but also of growth in strength and numbers? Indicate upon the map the districts where Christianity existed at this time, and endeavor to associate with each district the time when the gospel came to it, the persons especially instrumental in establishing it there, and the character of the belief and the life of the Christians in each district. Where were the twelve apostles during this period? Were the local bodies of Christians organized; if so, in what way? Observe in this verse the term "church" used in a collective sense to denote all of the separate communities of the Christians taken as a whole; as a matter of historical fact, was the term yet used in this sense at this time, or is it a term which came into use later, and was then employed in speaking of the earlier time?

III. OBSERVATIONS AND TEACHINGS.

1. *Organization.*—Does the present section contribute any information upon this subject?

2. *Environment.*—Paul began immediately after his conversion an active, earnest preaching of Jesus as Messiah, to the Hellenistic Jews in Damascus, and later he attempted the same in Jerusalem.—Three years after his conversion he went to Jerusalem to visit Peter, intending thus to establish good relations with the original apostles in his preaching of the gospel, and to learn more of Jesus' life and teaching.—As far as the Acts account goes, there was as yet no presentation of the gospel directly to the Gentiles, independently of Judaism; even Paul was working exclusively among Jews.—The presence of severe political trouble, and the conversion of Paul the chief persecutor, caused the Jews for some years to remit their hostility to the Christians.—There were now Christians everywhere in Palestine, and the movement prospered greatly during this period of peace.

3. *Institutions.*—Does the present section contribute any information upon this subject?

4. *Belief and teaching.*—Paul's intellectual ability, his thorough education and training, his broad and deep knowledge of the Old

Testament, and his spiritual experience of Jesus, all combined to make him a most efficient preacher of the gospel.

5. *Daily life.*—The Christians everywhere were increasing in faith and piety, living worthily of their profession, and rejoicing in the gospel.

6. *Divine guidance.*—Paul became at once, upon his conversion, one of the most prominent advocates of Christianity.—Yet, contrary to what might have been supposed, it was God's plan that he should preach the gospel to Gentiles rather than to Jews, and his early years of Christian activity were spent in Syria and Cilicia.

Literature.—Upon this section see the commentaries on Acts, especially those of GLOAG, HACKETT, MEYER, and the CAMBRIDGE BIBLE. Also NEANDER, Planting and Training of the Christian Church, Vol. I, pp. 91–98; Vol. II, pp. 94–104; FARRAR, Life and Work of St. Paul, chs. 11 to 14; CONYBEARE AND HOWSON, Life and Epistles of St. Paul, ch. 3; RAMSAY, St. Paul the Traveler, pp. 380–382; WEIZSÄCKER, Apostolic Age of the Christian Church, Vol. I, pp. 94–98.

SEC. II. PETER'S TOUR OF VISITATION AMONG THE CHRISTIANS OF PALESTINE.

Acts 9:32–43. About 38–39 A. D. Circuit through Palestine.

I. STUDY OF THE FACTS.

Let the following subclassification of the material in this section be verified, corrected, or improved :

Par. 1, 9:32–35, The Healing at Lydda and its Results.

Par. 2. 9:36–43, The Miracle and the Ministry in Joppa.

Prepare a brief abstract of the material contained in this section.

II. TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION.

1. *Peter's missionary activities.*—Recall what happened in 33 A. D. which spread the Christians through Palestine, and caused the formation of many Christian communities in a large number of places. What would be the duty of the apostles, as leaders in the gospel movement, toward these unnumbered local bodies of disciples? What was done in the case of the Christian converts in the city of Samaria (*cf.*, Acts 8:14–17)? Is it probable that similar interest was shown toward the Christians in other localities? Why should Peter in particular undertake to make a tour of visitation among these scattered groups of disciples? What could he do to help them? Were the apostles

perhaps frequently away from Jerusalem on such missions (*cf.* Gal. 1:18, 19)? When did Peter set out upon this tour? How long a time may we suppose it to have occupied? Can we at all trace the route which he took? Where do we find him at the close of the tour? How long did he remain at Joppa (*cf.* vs. 43)? How was this journey of Peter's like, and how different from, the missionary journeys by which Paul at a later time spread the gospel through Asia and Greece?

2. *The miracles at Lydda and Joppa.*—Indicate upon the map the location of Lydda, Sharon, and Joppa. How had Christianity been introduced into these places? Note the use in vss. 13, 32, and 41 of this chapter of the term "saints" to designate the disciples; was it a common designation, and what was the significance of it? Consider Peter's miracle-working as a part of his missionary activity. Was Æneas one of the Lydda Christians? Was palsy a common affliction among the Jews in the first century (*cf.* Matt. 4:24; 8:6; 9:2-6; Acts 8:7)? Compare with the healing of Æneas the somewhat similar cure performed by Jesus (Mark 2:1-12). Observe the words of Peter in invoking the cure (vs. 34). What was the result of the healing of Æneas upon the people of the village? What was the chief purpose of the miracle? How far from Lydda was Joppa? What is told about the character and life of Tabitha? Why is the Greek meaning of her name noted in the Acts? When did her death take place (vs. 37)? Why was Peter sent for—was it for the comfort and sympathy of his presence, or with the hope that he would restore her to life? Observe the indications of oriental funeral customs in vss. 37, 39. Why are the "widows" particularly mentioned (vss. 39, 41)? Why was not Jesus' name used in raising Tabitha as in the former cure (vs. 40; *cf.* vs. 34)? What was the purpose of this miracle? What was its effect upon the people of Joppa? Compare with this miracle of restoration the raising of Jairus' daughter by Jesus (Mark 5:22, 23, 38-42).

3. *Peter's preparation for his coming experience.*—In what ways would this extended tour among the Palestinian Christians prepare Peter for a larger and higher view of Christianity? In view of Jewish abhorrence of the tanner's trade, what does Peter's long stay with Simon the tanner (vs. 43) indicate as to his relation to Jewish ceremonialism? As a Galilean was he comparatively free from such scruples, although observing the essential restrictions regarding the clean and unclean? Was Peter, as compared with the other apostles, the one best fitted to comprehend and to carry forward the universal gospel as

taught by Christ and now to be retaught him by special revelation in Joppa and special illustration in Cæsarea?

III. OBSERVATIONS AND TEACHINGS.

1. *Organization.*—Peter made a missionary tour among the local bodies of disciples in Palestine, for the purpose of assisting them and directing them in their organization, internal Christian life, and evangelizing work.

2. *Environment.*—The inhabitants of Lydda and Joppa were in sympathy with the Christians and many converts were made by Peter's miracles among them.

3. *Institutions.*—Kneeling to pray seems to have been one of the customary religious forms among the primitive Christians.

4. *Belief and teaching.*—Jesus Christ was the source of the miraculous healing, and many were led to believe in him because of it.—Peter manifested in conduct and disposition a readiness to receive the divine revelation which was about to be given him.

5. *Daily life.*—Miracle-working was still a part of the apostolic activity and a means of large accessions to the gospel.—The Acts narrative leaves Paul at work in Cilicia while it turns to note the preparation of Peter for his experience with Cornelius.

6. *Divine guidance.*—The gospel was greatly advanced in Lydda and Joppa by God's manifest presence among them in the healing of Æneas and the restoration of Tabitha to life.—The saintly character and useful life of Tabitha were still more impressed upon all by her living again among them.

Literature.—Upon this section see the commentaries on Acts, especially those of GLOAG, HACKETT, MEYER, and the CAMBRIDGE BIBLE. Also BIBLE DICTIONARY, articles Æneas, Dorcas, Joppa, Lydda, Peter. Only the briefest mention of these incidents is made in other books than the commentaries.

The Council of Seventy.

Professor I. M. Price has just completed three years' work upon a translation of the books of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel. These are a part of the new translation of the Old Testament books which was commenced under the auspices of the American Bible Union and is now continued under the American Baptist Publication Society.

Professor Price delivered three lectures in the First Baptist Church of Minneapolis, Minn., on March 1 and 2. The topics were: (1) Did Moses Write Deuteronomy? (2) Assyria in Isaiah's Day; (3) The Fall of Babylon. The second and third were illustrated with stereopticon views of the monuments. The lectures were given under the auspices of the local board of the American Institute of Sacred Literature. This is the third course of lectures given by the board this year.

The Committee upon Bible Study in the College, appointed by the Council at its annual meeting, has commenced its investigation by sending to the eight hundred colleges of the country a letter calling for their coöperation. A list of questions asking numerous details in, regard to courses offered, time given, character of instruction, method aims, and outside facilities is also sent. The material gathered by this committee will eventually be classified and used for the benefit of all the colleges who respond. Professor Gates of Oberlin is the chairman of the committee.

Arrangements for biblical instruction by members of the Council at a number of summer schools are in progress and will be announced next month. The following are already fixed:

Professor Rush Rhees will give in connection with the Bible School at Chautauqua in July a course of instruction in The Life of Paul.

Professor F. K. Sanders will give a course at the same place on The Formative Period of Old Testament History, and President William R. Harper will conduct a class in The Work of the Old Testament Sages.

Professors Harper, Sanders, and D. A. McClenahan will also give

instruction in Hebrew, and Professor Rhees in New Testament Greek. Professor Sanders will give instruction at Bay View, Professor H. L. Willett at Winfield, Kan., Des Moines, Ia., Perville Springs, Mo., and Macatawa Park, Mich.

The Annual Prize Examinations of the Institute took place as announced March 10th. Only eighteen candidates for the examination in Hebrew enrolled themselves. The examinations were offered for not less than twenty-five candidates. The Hebrew was therefore withdrawn. For the examination in New Testament Greek there were 119 candidates, and for the English Bible fifteen in the Old Testament, and forty-five in the New Testament. The questions used in the English Bible examinations are given herewith. They may suggest work to others who would like to test their knowledge on the respective subjects:

THE PSALTER.—1. Indicate the present divisions of the Book of Psalms, and designate the more striking characteristics of each division.

2. Name the various authors to whom Psalms are assigned.
3. Name and describe the various kinds of Hebrew poetry.
4. Describe as definitely as possible the spirit which characterizes the poetry of the Psalms.
5. Indicate the various kinds of material given in superscriptions.
6. Indicate the considerations which have been urged in favor of their authority.
7. Indicate the considerations which have been urged opposing their authority.
8. Indicate to what extent the Psalms are the expression of national experience and feeling and to what extent they are the expression of individual experience and feeling.
9. Indicate the earliest and latest dates between which Psalms were written, and give examples of the earlier and later Psalms.
10. Indicate so far as you are able the different steps in the growth of the Psalter from its first beginning to its present form.
11. What is meant by the so-called Songs of Degrees?
12. What are the distinctive characteristics of the Psalms of Asaph and the so-called Korahitic Psalms?
13. Indicate the various conceptions to be found in the Psalms which relate to the Messianic times.
14. What in general are the different views as to the number of Psalms which may be assigned to David?

15. What bearing does the answer to question 14 have upon the history of Israel's religious thought?

16. From the point of view which you have taken in your answer to question 14 what new conceptions of David's inner life are revealed through the Psalms written by him?

17. Show the Messianic element in Psalm 2.

18. Show the Messianic element in Psalm 22.

19. Indicate the thought of Psalm 110 in twenty-five words.

20. Give an analysis of the 72d Psalm.

THE LIFE AND WORK OF PAUL.—1. What are the sources for a study of the life of Paul?

2. State such facts concerning Paul's ancestry, birthplace, family relations, occupation and education as can be learned from the New Testament.

3. Describe, from his own statements about it, the character of Paul's religious experience before his conversion on the way to Damascus.

4. Divide the life of Paul from his conversion to his death into suitable periods (say from six to twelve in number, according to your judgment).

5. Give a brief narrative of the conversion of Paul as related in Acts, chapter 9.

6. What statements does Paul make in his letters concerning his conversion and experiences immediately connected with it?

7. Give the itinerary of Paul's first missionary journey.

8. Give an account of the conference at Jerusalem described in Gal 2: 1-10.

9. Give an outline of the conference described in Acts, chapter 15. Do these two accounts refer to the same event? Give reasons for your opinion.

10. Give the itinerary of Paul's second missionary journey on the basis of Acts.

11. State what portions of this journey are attested by reference to them in Paul's letters, and give the substance of any such references.

12. State at what time in Paul's life First Thessalonians was written and the circumstances that gave rise to it.

13. What facts can be learned from the letter to the Galatians (independently of Acts) concerning the history of the Galatian Christians?

14. What two opinions are current among scholars as to the location of the Galatian churches?

15. What was the occasion and purpose of Paul's letter to the Galatians?

16. State what cities Paul visited on his third missionary journey and the length of his stay in each so far as known.

17. Which of the existing letters of Paul did he write on this journey? What other letter or letters now lost are known to have been written on this journey?

18. Give a brief outline of Paul's history from the writing of Romans to the writing of Philippians.

19. What reason is there for believing that Paul lived beyond the period covered by the Book of Acts, and what are the sources for the construction of this period of his life?

20. Give your estimate of the importance of Paul's work in its influence on the history of early Christianity.

Fifty-eight colleges competed. The results of the examinations will be made known and the prizes awarded in June.

NOTES ON THE ILLUSTRATIONS.

The picture which appears upon the cover page of this number represents the head of a Pu-ra-sa-ti or Pu-la-sa-ti, probably the same as the Hebrew Pelishti or Philistine. Numbers of these people were among the northern foes of Ramses III (twentieth dynasty), defeated by him somewhere on his northern frontier. It is thought that after their defeat they or their successors settled on the Mediterranean coast eastward of Egypt and were the ancestors of the biblical Philistines. The head is taken from the bas-reliefs of Ramses III's mortuary temple of Medinet Habu, Thebes.

The frontispiece in this issue is an actual photograph of the arrival of a railway train at the station of Ramleh, on the way between Yâfa (Joppa) and Jerusalem. The length of the road is fifty-four miles, which is thirteen miles longer than the carriage road between the same points, the railroad having to make long detours on account of the natural irregularities of the country. The running time of a train from Yâfa to Jerusalem is an hour and thirty-five minutes, something less than two minutes to the mile, including five stops at intermediate stations. The rate of fare is about \$2.75 one way, or about \$3.75 going and returning. Ramleh is a town of Arabic origin, thirteen and one-half miles southeast of Yâfa. The inhabitants number about 8000, of which 1000 are Christians, chiefly of the Greek faith. The condition of Ramleh is not prosperous, but the country about it is fertile, healthful, and beautiful.

Notes and Opinions.

“**The Homelessness of Christ.**”—In this department of the BIBLICAL WORLD for November 1896 attention was called to a new interpretation by Professor Bruce of the passage, “The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have lodging places, but the Son of Man hath not where to lay his head” (Matt. 8:19, 20). This interpretation was given by Professor Bruce in his volume *With Open Face* (published in 1896), and also in the *Expositor* for September of the same year. It has at least aroused thought and comment upon a passage heretofore often accepted in its most literal sense. In a word, the new interpretation is this: “The answer of Jesus refers to his spiritual situation, the homelessness of his soul in relation to the thought and religion of his times, rather than to his physical condition. This theory lays special emphasis upon the fact that Jesus is addressing a scribe, a member of a class closely allied to those religionists of the day with whom the teachings of Jesus were most at variance.”

In reply to Professor Bruce, Rev. John Reid of Dundee, Scotland, in the *Expository Times* for February, agrees with Professor Bruce in making the answer of Jesus turn upon the scribal profession of the petitioner. He, however, differs radically in demanding a literal and not a parabolic content in the refusal of Jesus. His idea of the passage is briefly this: “A parabolic interpretation of an historical incident is only admissible when the literal or historical interpretation is destitute of practical or spiritual significance. If we accept Meyer’s view the true historical position of the passage is indicated by its position in Matthew’s gospel. At this early stage in the life of Jesus it was not apparent that he was spiritually an alien. He still attended the synagogue services. The incidents which intensified the opposition between Jesus and the scribes had not yet taken place. The reply could have no spiritual force to the scribe. The saying is best regarded literally as a statement of physical hardships to be endured by him and his companion disciples. The itinerary of Jesus involved an almost continual uncertainty of shelter. Hospitality may have been refused more than once. At times the largeness of the company might compel him

and his followers to spend the night in the open air. This statement of hardships to be endured by him and his disciples corresponds with the whole impression of the gospel records. The suggestion that the scribe was possessed of means is needless and unlikely when we consider how few rich men were attracted to Jesus. With greater likelihood he may be regarded as a poor but godly scribe, of the spirit of Hillel, whom the life and words of Jesus had attracted. We may also set aside the other current theories concerning the earthly aims of the questioner, his rashness, impulsiveness, and self-confidence."

"How, then, are we to interpret the saying so as to give a real personal application to him? (1) The scribe was evidently already a disciple (see Matt. 8:21). He wished to be something more, namely, one of the little band of chosen personal companions who were to be with Jesus in his public ministry. (2) The offer of the scribe was made shortly after the Sermon on the Mount. Just prior to this Jesus had chosen from his disciples the twelve men who were to be his companions in his itinerant ministry. The scribe, possibly present when the choice was made, had been disappointed in being passed by. His attachment for and his desire to show the strength and fullness of his devotion to the Master may have been as great as that of any of the chosen few. This was the hour of separation. He felt that he could not bear to be left behind and so made this one effort to secure the desired relationship. (3) The words on the very face of them refer to physical hardships. We must look for some physical disability on the part of the volunteer to whom no other objection was made. He was a scribe by occupation, unaccustomed to hardships, unfitted for a life involving severe exposure. That this physical disability was the barrier becomes even more likely when we consider how many hardy fishermen, men inured to toil and accustomed to exposure, were called into the band of Jesus' personal attendants. Witness also the long and vigorous life which tradition assigns to almost all of the apostles notwithstanding severe and dangerous experiences. (4) Had Jesus spoken harshly to the scribe is it likely that the other two disciples who hesitated at the last moment to follow him into the boat would have felt at liberty to ask for delay or to urge the claims of filial duty and family affection? Jesus must not have in this little band anyone who might not endure the physical strain of the itinerant ministry. The weakly will always have opportunity and scope for serving him, but it is the strong who must take the field."

C. L. G.

Synopses of Important Articles.

THE FELLOWSHIP OF GOODS IN THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH. By the REV.
SANFORD H. COBB, A.M. *Presbyterian and Reformed Review*,
January 1897, pp. 17-34.

The “community of goods” of the New Testament has often been claimed by modern communistic and by some socialistic writers as a justification of their radical theories. They assume that the conditions of property, as regards personal ownership and use, obtaining under that early community were substantially the same as those proposed by themselves.

On the other hand, to say that this early institution has naught but a negative teaching for today is also a fallacy. This fallacy rests largely upon a misnomer and upon two preconceptions. First, the institution referred to in Acts 2: 44, 45; 4: 32, 33, 35 was far different from that implied in the term “community” usually associated with it. It had no sympathy either with close community, or with general equalization of property, or state ownership. The term “fellowship” is more allied to the reality. The fallacy also rests upon two preconceptions: (a) The institution was intentionally designed to be but temporary and transient, and thus is utterly impossible today; (b) this fellowship was a mistake of enthusiasm.

The fact that it disappeared is no proof that the Lord designed it should disappear. Moreover, had this first step in the forming of a general policy been a mistake, it would have received, not the apostles’ approbation, which it did, but their correction. A cursory study of the narrative overlooks certain factors the neglect of which gives color to the preceding misconceptions.

A few of the general facts of the time and condition of this early institution are to be noted: (a) The description of this institution presupposes that condition of society in which the rich and poor, the strong and weak, are mingled together. The difference between the condition of the church and the general condition of society was one of spirit and not of material things. (b) The narrative shows a hearty concession of the natural claim which poverty makes upon the rich for

sympathy and help. (*c*) Whatever the details, they were the results of a universal love—love in vigorous and beneficent action. (*d*) This early fellowship presupposes the Christian and the church. It was the outgrowth of Christian life and principle and not a matter of worldly policy.

If we look at this narrative more in detail, we see that: (*a*) this fellowship was not a leveling process—not a general partition of the whole stock of possessions among all the members of the church, share and share alike. This for two reasons: first, inequalities in condition because of rank and wealth are inevitable in the world and in the church so long as there are inequalities of capacity; second, such a leveling idea is a theory of wealth which is utterly unchristian. Only the lust of money can demand the communist's share and share alike. (*b*) It was not a putting of all possessions into a common fund. There was no total suppression of personal title. The rich parted with only such of their wealth as they were pleased to give for the use of the poor. The movement was not one either to pauperize the rich, or to enrich the poor. (*c*) It was not compulsory. This is most significant. The apostles laid no law upon the church commanding all Christians to sell their property and give to the poor (*cf.* Acts 4: 32; 5: 4). Ananias was punished because he lied, and not because he gave only a part of his money. Love is indeed a law, but not compulsion.

Was this early institution temporary and local? After the appointment of the deacons we find no formal reference to it. There is no reason, however, to suppose that the institution ceased to exist in Jerusalem until the destruction of the city. Moreover it is a safe presumption, supported by many incidental references in the epistles, that it existed elsewhere than at Jerusalem; for according to the view here taken, this fellowship had in it nothing abnormal, no infringement of individual liberty, nothing subversive of social order. But there is not an entire lack of evidence concerning its further extension. The fact of the appointment of deacons in other churches, their duties of serving the church and its poor in the collection and distribution of alms, evidence the same spirit of fellowship. And there is abundant reference elsewhere to the principle of fellowship underlying this early fact. Great stress is laid upon the duty of helping the poor. The very phrase "common" used in describing this early fellowship finds expression, with slight change of form, in references to other churches and to Christian duty (*cf.* "communicate," "communication," "com-

munion;" Phil. 4: 14, 15; Gal. 6: 6; 1 Tim. 5: 22; 6: 18; Rom. 12: 13; Heb. 13: 16; 1 Peter 4: 13).

Contrasted with this early fellowship modern schemes of communism are as darkness to light. The Christian fellowship is the offspring of godly love; communism is the spawn of human greed and envy. Christian fellowship says, "All mine is thine;" but communism, "All thine is mine."

Can this institution be set up as a model to the church and society of today? Certainty and authority as to method and details cannot be attempted. Some things are, however, reasonably clear. Christianity has failed adequately to recognize its mission concerning the question of property and its use, questions concerning which it ought to teach if it be true that the church is set for the redemption of the world from all its oppressing evils. The lesson of the Golden Rule and of the second commandment—"Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself"—found its best outspeaking in the apostolic church, illustrated in its fellowship and mutual service. Love, if present, will bring its own methods suited to the hour and circumstance. We must insist upon it as the great and only successful solvent of the perplexing problems of today. Avarice, oppression, and envy would depart, and no suffering which a brother could relieve would affect the humblest member of society.

Here, then, would seem to be the teaching of that early fellowship for the church and society of today.

The writer of the above article has done great service both as antagonist and as apologist. In disclosing the real character of this early institution, which he rightly terms "fellowship" instead of "community," he has deprived the modern communist of his props of seeming scriptural warrants for his vagaries, and at the same time has elevated that early fellowship to a position in which it will be sanctioned by Christian common sense, instead of being excused, as it often has been, because misunderstood. There is not much to support the author's view that this early fellowship existed outside of Jerusalem in any such manner or degree as characterized it in that city, though of course there was Christian generosity and charity in every Christian community. The writer's interpretation of the New Testament in one place at least will not bear the closest scrutiny, *i. e.*, page 21, his treatment of *ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ*. Notwithstanding a slight failure to maintain strict coherency and the most cogent development and arrangement of material, the paper manifests scholarly insight and close analysis. In support of Mr. Cobb's conclusion, bearing in mind also his statement that this fellowship presupposed the Christian and the church, witness the objects and efforts of the recent commissions on systematic beneficence.

W. P. B.

Book Reviews.

An Introduction to Theology: Its Principles, its Branches, its Results and its Literature. By ALFRED CAVE, A.B., D.D., Principal and Professor of Theology of Hackney College, London. Second edition, largely rewritten. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Imported by Chas. Scribner's Sons. Pp. xiii + 610. Price \$4.50.

The subject of this book, the first edition of which appeared in 1885, is what the Germans more commonly call theological encyclopædia, a department of study to which far too little attention has been given in this country. The present work discusses the various departments of the broad field of theology, their nature, utility, and relation to one another, and gives under each head a carefully selected bibliography. The author brings to his work a broad and intelligent conception both of his own special task and of the task of theology in general. The classification of the theological sciences shows accurate and philosophical discrimination; the bibliography a wide knowledge of books and their value. But the book is more than a classified list of literature in the various departments of theological study. By its definition of the various departments of the wide field, and by its recognition of the nature and extent of the sources from which theology must draw, but which have been as yet by no means fully used, it is itself a contribution to theological science. In the preface the author claims for his book that it is a contribution to a new theology, which, though the materials are old and only the organism can be new, is yet to be built on a far broader basis than that of the past. In this judgment respecting the theology of the future we can but believe that the author is right; if he has erred at all it is not by too greatly enlarging the field of theology, but by failing to go far enough in that direction. The encyclopædist of the future will make additions to this work, not only by adding new titles of books, but perhaps by giving more distinct recognition to whole areas of investigation now only very indirectly included. He will never subtract anything except the titles of superseded books.

As compared with the former edition the present is distinguished chiefly, of course, by the revision of the lists of books; this work has been done so far as we have observed with good judgment. Of course every scholar will miss some books that he would expect to see, but this is of necessity the case in a selected bibliography. It is better that it should be so than that the book should be overloaded with titles of works of doubtful value. Aside from the revision of the lists of books, the most notable changes are as follows: The section "What is Religion?" has been rewritten, the matter on pp. 47-57 being largely new. Pp. 77-79 and 87-89 show revision and enlargement. Pp. 123-145, Devotional books, and books on Theology in general, and pp. 327-340 on Biblical Archaeology, are almost entirely new matter. On the other hand the "Outline of Natural Theology" contained in the old edition, pp. 144-148, is omitted in the new.

The book as a whole may be heartily commended to all who are interested in the study of theology in any of its branches. We wish it could be in the hands of every minister and theological student in the country, and we are sure that it would be a most useful book to many of the more intelligent laymen, especially those who are studying the Bible with a view to teaching it.

E. D. B.

The Bible as Literature. By PROFESSOR R. G. MOULTON, PH.D., REV. JOHN P. PETERS, D.D., PROFESSOR A. B. BRUCE, D.D., and others. New York and Boston: T. Y. Crowell & Co. 1896. 8vo, pp. 375. Price \$1.50.

This volume is a compilation of brief studies the purpose of which is to approach the various books and authors included in the Scripture canon from a purely literary point of view, the word literary being interpreted in the main as having less to do with historical analysis and disputed questions of authorship than with the actual content of the works and their forms of expression. Many of the studies are by men whose training has been directly in the line of biblical interpretation. The Free Church College of Glasgow, the Episcopal Divinity School of Philadelphia, Union Theological Seminary, and the seminaries of Hartford, Auburn, Chicago, Cambridge, Oberlin, Newton, and Yale are represented. Some of the articles are by ministers, among whom are Dr. Lyman Abbott, Dr. Lowrie, Dr. Van Dyke, and Dr. Whiton. A few of the studies are by men whose work as a whole has been in general rather than in biblical literary criticism, as Professor Genung

of Amherst, Professor A. S. Cook of Yale, and Professor Moulton of The University of Chicago. Whatever differences of creed or whatever difference of attitude in the polemics of critical scholarship these men may represent, they unite in this book on one point, namely, that the Bible is unparalleled for its strength and beauty by any other of the world literatures. The chapter by Mr. Cook emphasizes the influence which this great literature has had on masters of English. He cites many passages from famous authors not distinctively religious to show how inextricably the diction, the turns of speech, the figures of the Bible are interwoven with what is most enduring and eloquent in English writings. Charles Wordsworth's *Shakespeare and the Bible* (1864) and Dr. Van Dyke's study of "The Bible in Tennyson" (*The Poetry of Tennyson*, 1880) are elaborate specific proofs of statements made by Professor Cook. Many other such specific studies might be made. The *Essays of Elia*, for instance, can hardly be appreciated to the full by one who must look up his biblical allusions for the occasion. Much of the flavor and point of Matthew Arnold's prose is lost upon one unfamiliar with Bible phraseology. The natural inference is that in the name of general culture and good English alone the plea for a universal and intelligent knowledge of the Bible would be one of great strength. But this volume does not rest its plea here. The book has the same underlying aim as Mr. Moulton's more elaborate and technical work, *The Literary Study of the Bible* (1896). Both help the mind to escape from traditional and benumbing misconceptions. To free single books of the Bible from the bondage of verse and chapter, to disintegrate the whole collection into its separate parts, forcing the reader to recognize differences of dates, and varieties of literary forms and of historic setting, is certainly an almost inestimable service in the way of real appreciation and understanding. It might seem at first thought irreverent to study Isaiah as one would Milton, to note, for instance, the particular qualities of his style, his compression, his vividness, his sublimity, his humor; to think of the Psalms as a golden treasury of sacred lyrics, of Job as a great drama, of Ruth as a prose idyl. But the impression of irreverence cannot last, for the final outcome of such study is a deeper sense of spiritual significance. In great poems such as Browning's "Pippa Passes" or Coleridge's "Ancient Mariner," there is profound spiritual teaching, but this teaching is not most deeply felt if directly and exclusively sought. A close, even technical, study of general form, felicity of phrase, vividness of picture, seems to let the mind eddy about the thought until it enters the consciousness not as a

bare thought, but with pomp and color and circumstance, with the very mood and spirit of the author himself. Why should not similar study bring similar results when brought to bear on the lyrics, the dramas, the wisdom writings, the letters, the essays of the Bible? Books such as the one before us are not meant to substitute literature for religion. They merely open up fresh avenues to a real understanding of the Bible. What was before fragmentary has been seen as a whole. The imagination has been stirred to larger activity, the sense for beauty is awake, and the mind and heart combine in a new and warm realization of spiritual verities.

M. R.

Recent Research in Bible Lands; its Progress and Results. Edited by HERMAN V. HILPRECHT. Philadelphia: John D. Wattles & Co. 1896. Pp. xiv + 269. With a map. Price \$1.50.

This book contains a series of articles¹ originally prepared for the *Sunday School Times* by a number of American and European specialists and edited by Professor Hilprecht of the University of Pennsylvania.

I. The most important for the layman—and they are all written for the layman rather than for the specialist—is the first, “Oriental Research and the Bible,” by Professor McCurdy. In a few pages he sums up the results obtained (1) from Egyptian literature and archæology (*cf.* the special chapter by Sayce); (2) from Arabic literature (*cf.* the special chapter by Hommel); (3) from excavations in the Holy Land (*cf.* the special chapter by Bliss); and (4) from Babylonian and Assyrian literature. We may pass over (2) and (3) and take McCurdy’s estimate of (1) and (4). Of the former he says (pp. 7, 8): “And yet it must be admitted that comparatively few results of first-class importance for biblical science have so far been achieved by Egyptology. Its value for Bible study is indeed great, but it is rather indirect than direct. Its discoveries and assured results are interesting and educative in the highest degree, but they have not as yet satisfied

¹ The table of contents is as follows: Oriental Research and the Bible (pp. 1-28), PROFESSOR J. F. McCURDY, PH.D., LL.D.; The Mounds of Palestine (pp. 29-42), FREDERICK JONES BLISS, PH.D.; Explorations in Babylonia (pp. 43-94), PROFESSOR HERMAN V. HILPRECHT, PH.D., D.D.; Research in Egypt (pp. 95-128), PROFESSOR A. H. SAYCE, D.D., LL.D., D.C.L.; Discoveries and Researches in Arabia (pp. 129-158), PROFESSOR FRITZ HOMMEL, PH.D.; The Hittites (pp. 159-190), WILLIAM HAYES WARD, D.D., LL.D.; Early Greek Manuscripts from Egypt (pp. 191-226), PROFESSOR J. P. MAHAFFY, D.D., D.C.L.; New Light on the Book of Acts (pp. 227-242), PROFESSOR W. M. RAMSAY, LL.D., D.C.L.; Topical Index (pp. 245-266); Scriptural Index (p. 266); Chronological Index (pp. 267-269); Map.

the more sanguine expectations of earnest readers of the Bible. One may perhaps venture to say that such must continue to be the general character of the quest. It is apparently impossible that Egypt can ever be of primary importance in the department of biblical study." Of Assyria, on the other hand, he writes at great length: (1) of the land itself; (2) of the language and its importance for the study of the Hebrew; (3) of the "large and priceless literature;" (4) of the "most instructive disclosures." His treatment of the influence of Assyrio-Babylonian literature is full, conservative, and will meet with the favor of the specialist.

II. Bliss's account of the work done in Palestine is interesting. One could wish that larger and more tangible results had been obtained.

III. Hilprecht gives an interesting account (*a*) of some of the trials and tribulations of the American expedition to Babylonia, with an estimate of the value of the finds; (*b*) of the French excavations at Tello, with remarks on Babylonian chronology; and (*c*) of the Turkish efforts in Babylonian archæology, under the director-general, Hamdy Bey, of the Imperial Ottoman Museum in Constantinople. All scholars will welcome the history of the American expedition, by Dr. Peters and Mr. Haynes, promised on page 60. It may be in place here for me, as a member of this expedition, to say that too much credit cannot be given to Mr. Haynes, to whom most of the success of the expedition is due.

IV. It would have been better for the *Sunday School Times* to have had a specialist write the article on "Research in Egypt." Sayce has made his usual number of blunders, and this chapter is the least trustworthy of the series.

V. Hommel tells in a pleasing way of Glaser's travels and results. He is, however, too optimistic as to the present and future influence of the Arabic.

VI. Ward treats of the Hittites (*a*) in the Old Testament; (*b*) on the Egyptian monuments; (*c*) on the cuneiform monuments; and (*d*) on their own monuments; also of the race and of the writing and language. He differs from Hilprecht in his appreciation of Jensen's attempt to decipher the Hittite language. His subject is full of uncertainties, but he has given a fair statement of what we know and of what we do not know. I pass VII and VIII.

The work, as a whole, is well done. Great credit must be given these gentlemen for putting the latest results of scholarship in a scholarly but popular form for the use of the layman. As a rule, this work is attempted by those who are incompetent and is miserably done.

Only a scholar can sift the results of scholarship. May more scholars give some of their time and ability to work of this kind, and thus make unnecessary the worthless material which is imposed upon the public.

ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER.

Jesus Christ before his Ministry. By PROFESSOR EDMOND STAPFER, D.D. Translated by Louise Seymour Houghton. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons. 1896. 12mo, pp. xvi+182. Price \$1.25.

Dr. Stapfer, Professor in the Faculty of Protestant Theology at Paris, has become quite well known in this country by his earlier volume on *Palestine in the Time of Christ*, which has gone through three editions, and, though often inaccurate in details and sometimes mistaken in view or judgment, is perhaps still the best popular work in English upon the subject. The small volume now to be noticed is the first installment of a still larger undertaking, for Dr. Stapfer's plan includes three volumes upon Jesus Christ: His Person, His Authority, His Work. The second volume, upon *Jesus Christ during his Ministry*, is just announced by the publishers; and the third volume, upon *The Death and Resurrection of Jesus Christ*, is well on in the course of preparation.

There is not much direct information to be had about Jesus during the thirty years which preceded his public ministry—the period our volume treats. What direct information we have is recorded in the first two chapters of Matthew and the first two of Luke. And one might have supposed that a writer on this period of Jesus' life would have devoted his book mainly to a presentation of this material, subjecting it to historical and literary criticism, and then constructing a fragmentary biography from it. But Dr. Stapfer distinctly states in his preface that this is not the way he has chosen: "Of the time which passed over him until his thirtieth year we know only so much as the evangelists Matthew and Luke have preserved for us. But it is not from the facts which they bring to light that I shall draw the pages which follow. To their touching narratives of the childhood of Jesus it seems to me that there is nothing to add or to subtract." Nor even to repeat? Then we part company entirely with direct information about Jesus' first thirty years. But still the whole inquiry is about these years—whence shall the author derive his facts? Let him tell: "I would fain say what must have been the life of Jesus until his

thirtieth year, by deducing from known facts some facts unknown, and permitting myself only to observe and relate." That is to say, with a knowledge of the Jewish people in the first century, and with a knowledge of Jesus as he appeared in his public ministry, the author will let his historical imagination produce a picture of Jesus. And what Dr. Stapfer has done is simply to describe what he conceives to have been the childhood and young manhood of the ideal Jewish boy of about A. D. 1 to 30. Now it may be conceded that there will be some probability about the results so obtained, but there is certainly no reality about them. Ideal lives are imagined rather than lived, and it is easy to conceive that Jesus' actual life before his ministry was very different in events and development from what we might suppose it would be. So when, cutting loose from all the direct information we possess, Dr. Stapfer undertakes to "say what must have been the life of Jesus until his thirtieth year," the question must be asked, How can he or anyone know what *must* have been? We can only say what may with more or less probability have been.

Therefore the most important part of the book is conjecture—plausible conjecture often, but only conjecture. The bulk of the book, however, consists of descriptions of places, customs, beliefs, and parties, about which a good deal is known and which the author presents in a very readable manner. The difference in this material between the present volume and that of his *Palestine in the Time of Christ* is simply that the historical information about the New Testament times there given impersonally is here associated with one concrete personal life. That which is historical in the present work, then, had already been given in the earlier one; and that which is new in the present work is imaginary and therefore of uncertain value.

A reviewer might enter at length into a criticism of Dr. Stapfer's various conjectures about the facts and experiences of Jesus until his thirtieth year, but this would only be to set conjecture against conjecture, a not very profitable proceeding. Many of his conjectures do not seem to the present reviewer probable, but it is not necessary to indicate these. The book is popularly useful in some degree, for it is entertaining and instructive for the common reader; but it cannot be regarded as a contribution to a fuller knowledge of the early life of Christ. It is to be hoped that the subsequent two volumes of the series will be of a better character, for we should like to put Dr. Stapfer's work upon the shelf with the other lives of Christ by Weiss, Beyschlag, Edersheim, and Andrews.

C. W. V.

Current Literature.

GENERAL.

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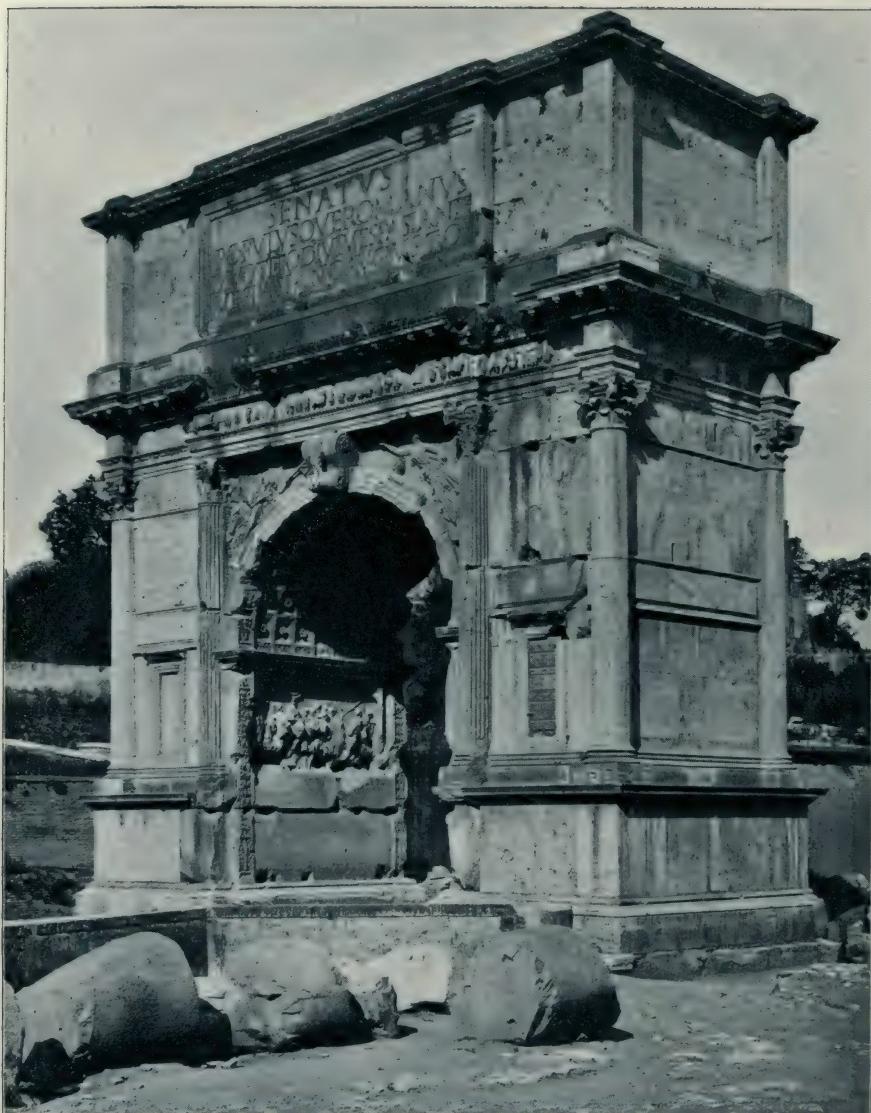
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MANY minds are confused and disturbed by the differences of opinion which prevail concerning the Sacred Scriptures. In the majority of cases the question which one asks *THE CONFLICT* himself has finally come to be, Do I stand with the old or with the new school? In asking this question we sometimes forget that the old and the new include each many widely divergent phases of thought. The whole matter, however, reduces itself to a question of *attitude of mind* with respect to the method or manner in which certain great religious ideas have come into existence. It is only in the most subordinate sense that the differences between the two schools have to do with the thought itself. The question is, *How?* not, *What?*

Not infrequently representatives of both schools unduly magnify these points of difference. This is done for the most part by ignoring the points of agreement. This agreement is of a more substantial character than the difference. As has been said, the differences have to do, not with facts, but with the explanation of facts. If the most conservative representatives of the old school were to make a list of one hundred statements relating to the facts included in the whole range of Old and New Testament history, and the ideas embodied in that history, the representatives of the newer school, excluding its extreme radical members, would subscribe to 90 per cent. of the statements thus

*THE
DIFFERENCES
MAGNIFIED*

presented. So thoroughly real are the great personalities and events of sacred history that no sober-minded man can for a moment deny their existence. Indeed, to do so is to raise a question as to one's own scientific sanity. It is fair to ask whether enough has been made of this agreement between the two schools, and whether the representatives of both sides have not done themselves a serious injury in their effort to show how far they disagree with each other, rather than how far they agree. Is there not an analogy here in the case of the various denominations? In some sections of the country the rivalry is so bitter as to convince the outsider who is not a Christian that these denominations have practically nothing in common, but are engaged in a warfare for the purpose of each other's destruction. This is the conviction which has been produced on the minds of the general public by the conflict that has in these recent years been waged between the two divisions of the Christian army, whose energy has been spent in large measure in destroying the power of each other rather than in united effort against the common foe, materialistic agnosticism.

It may be repeated that the real difference is one which relates not to fact, but to method or manner. No one denies

*THE REAL
DIFFERENCE* that God has revealed himself. It is a question, How has this revelation been made? No one doubts the peculiar character of Israelitish history or the great events which make that history stand out so prominently, for example, the exodus from Egypt, the conquest of Palestine, the division of the nation into two kingdoms, the Babylonian captivity, the restoration, the strange vicissitudes of the Maccabees. It is only a question as to the relation of these events to other historical events which were transpiring among other nations, and the interpretation of the events in the progressive self-revelation of God himself. No one doubts that there was given to the Hebrew nation legislative codes the most ideal in character of any that have been adopted among men. It is a question how these codes came to be adopted and what is their relationship to each other. No one doubts that the

Israelitish prophets knew beforehand and declared beforehand the calamities and the blessings which were to come upon Israel and upon humanity. It is a question, (1) how closely related was this knowledge to the situation in which they themselves stood, and (2) whether the use made of that knowledge was particularly concerned with their own times or with future times. No one doubts the great facts connected with the birth of Christianity. It is a question how those facts stand related to the preceding history. No fundamental principle of Christianity, no essential principle of ethics, is denied. The only questions raised have to do with the history of these principles.

The closing words of the preceding paragraph furnish the key to the situation. The cause of the division into two camps

*THE
HISTORICAL
ELEMENT* is to be found in the growing prevalence of the historical spirit; a spirit which compels those who possess it to go back step by step in order to obtain, if possible, the very beginnings of an idea or institution, and having found these beginnings, to trace forward the steady growth and development of the same; a spirit which likewise compels those who possess it to compare the ideas and institutions of one nation with those of other nations closely related, and from this comparative study to determine as nearly as possible the influences exerted from without, as well as those exerted from within. It is this historical and comparative study that has led to the division of opinion which has come to exist. Those who have not yet adopted this method of study naturally cannot estimate its value, or accept the conclusions which have been reached in accordance with it. What is involved in the historical method? Reduced to its simplest form it amounts to this: Instead of accepting this or that popular statement or conception of a character or an event as final on the ground merely that such a statement has been made, the historical student goes back for facts to the documents of the age to which the character or event belonged, and endeavors from these to determine the true and unprejudiced account. Dealing thus with the documents of successive ages, he is able

to reproduce the history of the growth of the idea, and to explain how it assumed this or that definite form in different periods. This is the simplest method possible, and in all other departments of thought this method today rules supreme. In addition it is, of course, necessary for the student to consider the idea or institution as it may be found in other nations, and to make the necessary comparisons. This, however, is only carrying still further the historical study. In order to trace the history of any idea in this way it is necessary to arrange the documents of each century in their proper order, that is, in the order in which they had their origin. This is, in one sense, literary work, but from another point of view it is historical. This, then, is what is involved in historical work: (1) the proper arrangement beforehand of the materials from which information is to be gathered; (2) the gathering of the information in historical and scientific order; and (3) the comparison of this information with information of a similar character obtained from the documents of other nations. It becomes a serious matter, it must be confessed, when this kind of work is undertaken by those who beforehand have decided that there is no God, or that there is no such thing as foreknowledge of events, or that there is no such thing as a miracle. Those who conduct their study on these presuppositions will naturally reach conclusions far wide of the truth and exercise a mischievous influence; but the fact that some men undertake the work with these presuppositions and reach results of this character does not in any way affect the value of the method. It is only necessary in this case to point out the lack of scientific honesty in those who deny factors which are the most important in the case. The atheist believes that the earth is round. Shall the Christian refuse thus to believe because, in so doing, he finds himself in company with the atheist? Men who do not believe in a personal God adopt the historical method of study. Shall the Christian student for this reason refuse to adopt the historical method, the only true and scientific method?

The historical method discloses the fact that God's revelation of himself has been made in accordance with certain great

principles. There has been no caprice, no arbitrary movement in it. It has taken the form of teaching, and, as such, presents those methods of teaching which, when employed, will prove most successful when man himself is teacher as well as taught. It has associated itself with the history of mankind, and has found concrete expression in the lives and characters of the great men of all ages. It has come through man himself, and for this reason has been adapted to the needs of man in the particular generation in which it was presented. It has made use of institutions and ideas which in many cases had represented all that was gross and unclean, but in every case there have been a purification and an illumination which together have transformed all that was low and mean to something high and lofty. So distinct and definite are these principles as drawn from the revelation itself, considered historically, that they may be called laws. In any case we find that every act of revelation has limited itself by these laws, or, to put the same thought in other form, Divine Wisdom has seen fit to display itself in accordance with these principles. So regular and methodical is the operation of these laws that they may fairly be said to be as unalterable as the laws of nature. Do they exclude the miracle? No, for the miracle is not a divine caprice, but an action strictly in accordance with the law of the Divine Being. Do they exclude prophecy? No, for prophecy, as properly understood, is only the declaration of the divine laws concerning man and his relation to God. Law is found to be supreme. Everything becomes clear, and the plan of God working through man and in man becomes, from the historical point of view, something so beautiful, so symmetrical, so sublime that a new conception of God himself comes to the man who thus perceives the laws in accordance with which the Deity has worked.

The use of the historical method discloses further that God has acted subjectively rather than objectively. The old view made man a machine, God the manipulator of the machine. The old view made that which could be seen by the eye or

THE PREVA-
LENCE OF LAW

heard by the ear more real than that which is seen and heard by the spirit of man. In other words, it placed the material

THE WORK SUBJECTIVE, NOT OBJECTIVE above the spiritual. The highest form of divine communication was that in which God spoke face to face with Moses, that is, in literal words, rather than

that in which God appealed to the soul of the prophet who was to become the agent of the divine work. The old view placed God on the outside of everything rather than on the inside; represented him as standing off at a distance rather than as entering into the very inmost part of life and history. This view was really a childish view, the child being unable to conceive God as spirit. It was really a pagan view, the pagan being unable to think of God as other than an exalted man, dealing with men as men deal with each other. The newer view, in laying emphasis upon the subjective side, furnishes not only a truer but a deeper and broader conception of God. The same may be said of the different conception of Jesus which is thus obtained.

There is no one who supposes that the revelation of God is other than gradual or progressive; yet many have failed to comprehend the full meaning of this proposition.

THE WORK A GROWTH OR DEVELOPMENT A progressive revelation implies (1) a revelation which had a beginning and which in the early stages must have been very crude and indefinite because of the character of the people for whom it was intended; (2) a revelation which with every age received accretions, new light being given to the people when they were able to receive it; (3) a revelation which was, for the time being, partial and imperfect, indefinite and incomplete; (4) a revelation which was, therefore, a growth or development, regular and in accordance with laws; (5) a revelation which came from within rather than from without; subjective rather than objective; (6) a revelation, the details of which may be arranged in historical order and studied in the order in which they were given; (7) a revelation, the historical order of which will be found to be the logical order. But now, if God works from the inside rather

than from the outside, is it not possible that misconception attaches to the phrase "revelation of God to man"? This expression itself has grown out of the view which makes the work of God something objective. Is it not better to conceive God as working in and through man; every step forward, as a new and higher conception on the part of man of the Great Spirit which has filled all space and all time, which surrounds and envelops man himself, and of which man, created in the image of God, is himself a part? As the ages pass, men are gradually lifted out of the darkness and obscurity into the light. The light has always existed and man has lived in it, but only in later times has man himself been able to see and appreciate the light in which he has always lived.

One of the most important points between the Old and the New Testaments is this: The Old Testament teaches us *What*,
THE OLD AND
THE NEW but not *How*. The New Testament teaches us *How*, as well as *What*. The people of the Old Testament times believed most profoundly in a personal God. The thunder was his voice. Lightning was the flash of his spear. The earth quaked at his bidding. Pestilence came at his word. They were not acquainted with the laws of the atmosphere or the laws of geology, or the laws of hygiene. They knew God, and they understood that God in these matters acted directly. They were right in their conception. These things are the work of God. But they were wrong, because of their ignorance of the fact that God always acts in accordance with laws. The method and the manner of the divine operation were not the subject of their thought. In the coming of Jesus Christ and in the teaching of the New Testament all this was changed. Then, for the first time, man began to know how God worked, and every century since the birth of Christianity has added something to our knowledge of the divine method of work. The discoveries of science in the realm of nature have, in these last years, given us a world of information concerning God's method of work in nature; and the discoveries of historical study have revealed to us many things concerning the

working of God's spirit in humanity. Men stand aghast at the discoveries of science and ask each other in bated breath, What next? The discoveries of science in the realm of mind, the progress that has been made by man in the understanding of man himself—these have been no less wonderful and give no less promise for the future. Is there, in many quarters, a lack of appreciation of these modern discoveries? It is because the spirit of the Old Testament rather than that of the New prevails; the spirit that is satisfied with answering the question, *What?* rather than the spirit which demands as well an answer to the question, *How?*

HEBREW ROCK ALTARS.

By REV. H. B. GREENE,
Lowell, Mass.

THAT Palestine is a land rich in ruins is often remarked, but little understood, even by those who have visited there and perhaps have taken the journey from Jerusalem to Damascus. The itinerary of the tourist and the route of the pilgrim almost never lead to the well-preserved ruins of Bible times, or if they do, the average dragoman knows nothing of them except that they are ruins and the abode of poisonous serpents. So to the question of the observant tourist or curious pilgrim the uniform answer is given "nothing but ruins." In reality these same ruins, whether belonging to Canaanitish, Hebrew, early Christian, Moslem or crusading times, are teeming with interest, and will yet throw much light upon the sacred page. Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth are modern cities, while the places that witnessed the struggles of the Hebrews and the work of Christ lie beneath the surface, buried by the accumulation of centuries. Very little of that which is ancient or historic can be seen by the visitor. Were it not for the unchanging hills about Jerusalem, the stony field of the shepherds about Bethlehem, and the never-failing fountain of the virgin at Nazareth, there would be but little in these places to remind one of their glorious past. On the other hand, away from these centers the great plains are dotted with "tells" that mark former cities, and almost every hilltop has its ruins that speak of former inhabitants. Judging by these ruins the ancient cities must have been far superior to the modern Arab towns. During three spring seasons it has been my privilege to wander about all parts of the Holy Land in search of health, knowledge, and flowers.

In these wanderings away from the beaten paths, where the lily grows and the wild beasts roam at will, I have seen many

objects of interest not mentioned in the guidebooks, among them some rock altars that I recently found in the border land of Judea. These altars were probably built by the children of Israel that upon them they might offer sacrifice to the Most High God. The region where these stone altars exist lies between Yalo (the ancient Aijalon), and Sara (the ancient Zorah, the birthplace of Samson), just at the foot of the Judean mountains as they merge into the plain of Sharon. From Yalo to Sara is six and one-half miles. In passing from one village to the other by this part of the ancient path along which the ark of the covenant was borne from its captivity in the temple of Dagon to its resting place at Kirjath-jearim, one counts four dirty Arab villages.

Yet three thousand years ago, the time of the event referred to, there were nine or ten flourishing villages, each with its local rock altar. I have examined the ruins of eight such villages, and know of others in the same neighborhood, which time did not allow me to examine. Until within a few years no ancient altars were known to exist in Palestine west of the Jordan. After twenty-one years of work in the Holy Land the Palestine Exploration Society reports that "the two cromlechs, together with a rude stone monument discovered in the hilly country of eastern Judea, are the only old stone monuments remaining in western Palestine. As far as I can learn no report has ever been made, in an American work, of ancient Hebrew altars existing in any part of Palestine. The only two which have been reported, and drawings of them given, were described in 1886 in Germany. About twelve years ago Rev. T. E. Hanauer, then a missionary in Jerusalem, discovered what he thought must be an altar, located at the foot of the Sara (Zorah) hill. He reported his find to the Palestine Exploration Society, and Herr B. Schick, an authority upon all that pertains to ancient Palestine, visited the spot and took measurements and drawings of the monument. He considered it a Hebrew altar and probably the very one upon which Manoah (Judges 13:19), the father of Samson, offered sacrifice to Jehovah. Herr Schick visited the ruins of a large village only

a mile and one-half from this altar and there found another of which he took drawings. Afterwards he published a full account of both in the *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*.

I have carefully examined and measured these two altars (Figs. 1 and 2), and have discovered six others besides in this

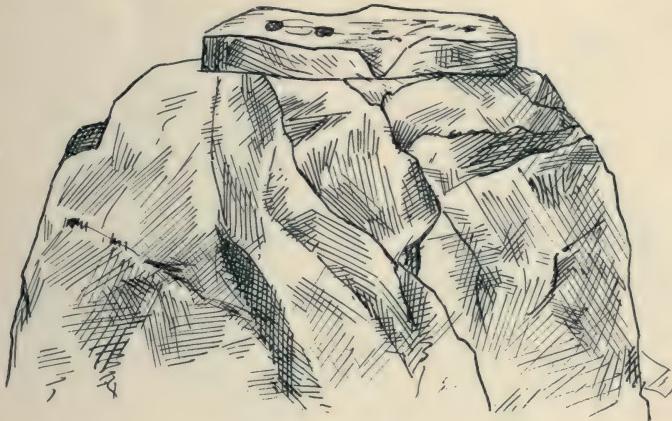


FIG. 1.

same border land of Judea. Fig. 2 gives a sketch of the altar at Sara, together with a plan of its surface. The altar is a rock eight feet in diameter at the base, and eight feet high. With the exception of the top it is in a state of nature. The top has been cut a little, making two platforms of a foot in width, one platform being a foot above the other. This rock was apparently chosen more on account of its natural fitness as a table of the Lord than on account of its location, for it is a half mile from the village. It is now at the foot of the hill upon which the village stands, and last spring was surrounded by growing wheat. When I first saw it, I approached from the north and came upon it suddenly. It rose before me like a monument, with every suggestion of an altar. If I had not been looking for it, I could not have mistaken its use, for its every part told its story. When I mounted upon its platform and saw the cup-shaped hollows upon its surface, all doubt disappeared. I stood upon the platform of an altar dedicated to Jehovah over three thousand years ago. I give the plan of the surface. The corners, instead of the sides,

indicate the points of the compass. In all there are twelve cup-shaped hollows, ten on the surface and two below. The one at the north corner is cut where the rock slopes off, and is quite by itself. The one near the south corner is cut in the platform a foot below the top of the altar. I did not measure the hollows but

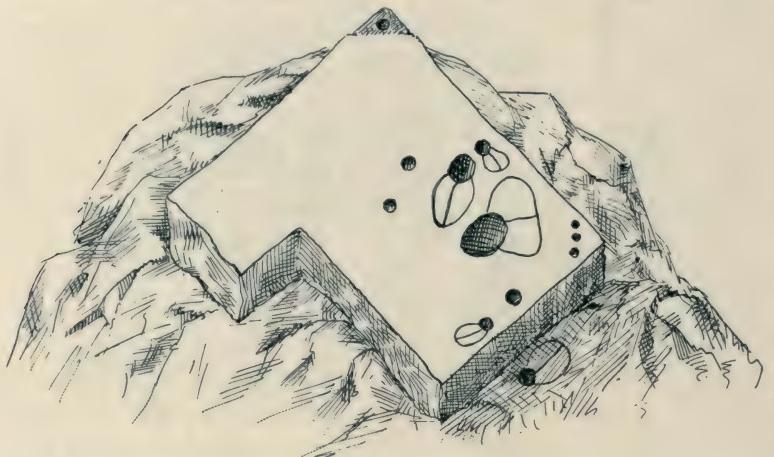
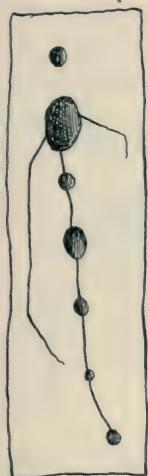


FIG. 2.

should think they were from two inches to eight inches in diameter. The largest hollows have drains consisting of shallow grooves leading into them; they are represented on all the plans by lines.

A mile and one-half to the east is a large ruin called Marmeta. This must have been a city of a few thousand inhabitants. It is here that the second altar described by Herr Schick is to be found. I give its two faces (Fig. 3), for the stone seems to have had a varied history, and its faces perhaps belong to different periods. It is a monolith two and one-half feet square by nine feet long. The workmanship, like all the early Hebrew stone cutting, is crude. The stone is out of its original place and lies upon the side of the hill. Face I is up and has seven cup-shaped hollows, five of them connected by a slight drain with the largest. Face II is at right angles to the first and now lies towards the west. There is one curious feature. Cut into the surface is a depression that looks as if it might have been cut for a door to

fit in, at one period the stone perhaps being used as a threshold. This depression is one and one-half inches deep, eight feet long, and fifteen inches wide except at the ends, yet here are cup-shaped hollows that correspond with those on other altars, and even the drains are preserved. The largest hollow here is nine



FACE I.

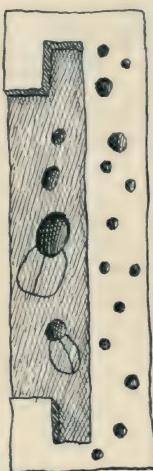


FIG. 3.

FACE II.

inches in diameter and four inches deep. Upon the surface of this face are fourteen hollows, scattered about with no connection or order.

About five miles to the north of Sara I found upon land that belongs to the Arab village of Der Eyub another rock altar, smaller, but just as clearly an altar as the one first described. Below (Fig. 4) is a plan of its surface. The chisel had no part in shaping it (Ex. 20:25). It was against the letter of the Mosaic law to use any tool in making an altar. This altar was in a field covered by growing wheat. It is a part of the limestone ledge that comes to the surface at that place. It is seven feet long, about three feet wide, and three feet and one-half high. The center cup-shaped hollow is large, being nearly a foot in diameter and ten inches deep, perhaps showing the effect of fire upon it. To the northwest about sixty feet, cut in the

same ledge, I found another cup-shaped hollow as seen in the plan.

In the mountains to the east of Der Eyub are the ruins of a once flourishing village. Here I found two altars, one appar-



FIG. 4.

$7\frac{1}{2}$ feet long; 3 feet wide; $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet high. Center hollow 11 inches in diameter and 10 inches deep.

ently worn out with use and abandoned when the new one was consecrated. Figure 5 shows the plan of the older altar. The rock is an irregular one and does not stand out by itself, but is one of several. The hollows are six and nine inches in diameter, with a foot for depth. A few feet to the northwest on another rock is another and smaller hollow, but having some connection with the main altar.

Figure 6 gives the surface plan of the second altar in this village. In this case the rock stands out by itself, and on two sides,

the north and west, has been cut into shape. It is four feet high, with three hollows in its surface, and a fourth below to the east in a natural depression in the rock. The largest of these hollows is six inches in diameter, all about three inches deep. The three on the surface are connected by drains. As in the two altars previously described, this one has a companion hollow to the northwest, in this case nineteen feet distant.

In connection with this altar was a building, a floor plan of which I give below (Fig. 7), at the same time showing the position of the cup-shaped hollow to the northwest. This building was a large one, the rock floor being seventeen feet square. The average size of dwellings in this village was not over twelve feet square. The



FIG. 6.

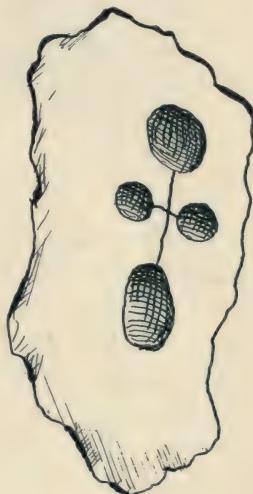


FIG. 5.

floor was cut out of the rock, of which the altar is a part. This cutting is always necessary in a mountain village; for everywhere the rock is present and must be cut to form a level upon which to build. In order to form a level floor in this building, the rock to the east was cut four feet, and forms part of the wall on this side. In this natural

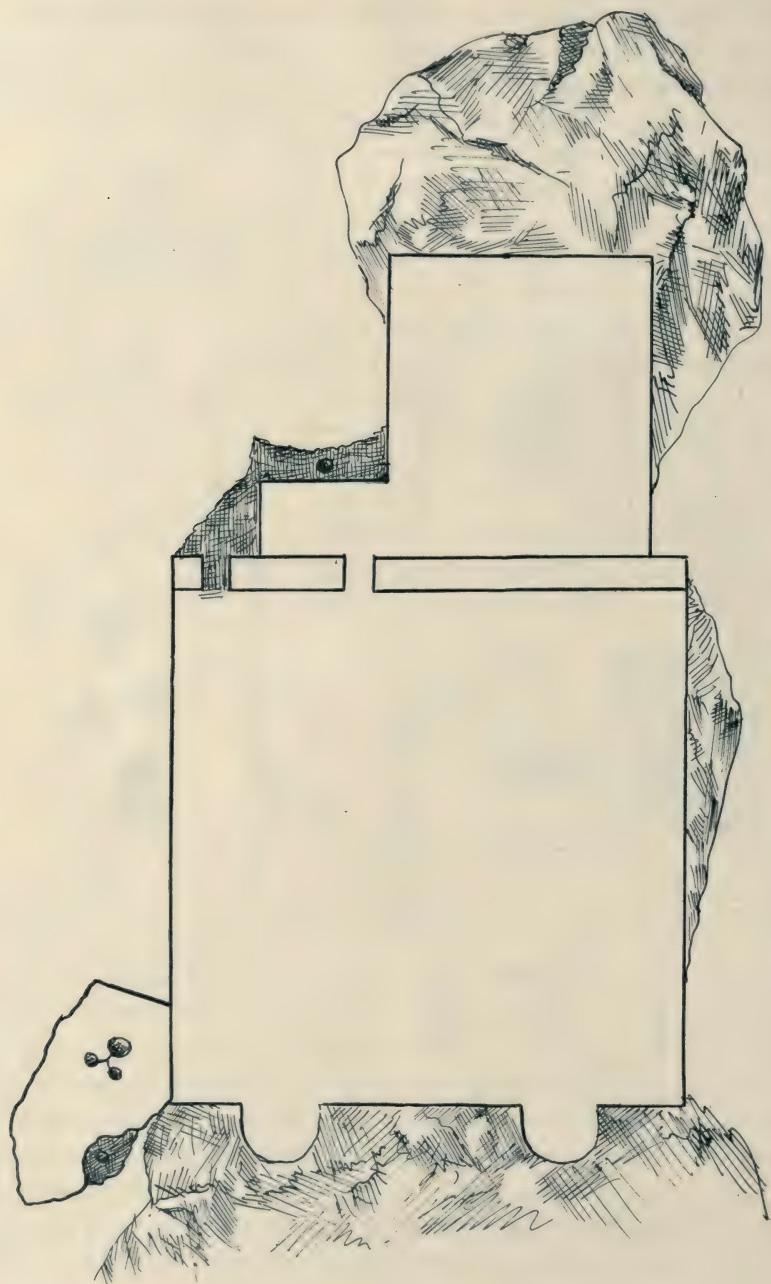


FIG. 7.

wall are two large niches, the largest I found in any village. They are two and one-half feet high, with the same depth. At the bottom a lip was left to keep whatever was placed within from falling upon the floor, while around the top was a groove, into which lids once fitted. The rock to the north is of irregular



FIG. 8. THE TWO LARGE NICHES INDICATED IN FIG. 7.

height, but nowhere more than one and one-half feet. The western wall as it now exists is cut out of the same rock, and is a foot high and a foot wide, with two openings of a foot each. One of these openings leads to another floor cut out of the rock in a manner similar to the first, but of different size and shape.

There are three other altars of which I might speak. One is not far from the Arab village of Bet Mahsir. Another is near the mass of ruins called by the natives S'affa, an ancient ruin not far from Amwas of the Maccabees. These two are in every particular much like the altar at Der Eyub. The third altar (Fig. 9) deserves just a word. It is at the foot of the hill covered by a ruin called Chatula. Unlike the rest, it does not in shape or size resemble an altar, being more round than square and only two and one-half feet in diameter, with a height of but two feet. Yet it has the four cup-shaped hollows, and seems to have been a small altar or else part of a large one built of several stones.

These are the rock altars. We have noted in regard to them that, with the exception of the one at Marmeta, they are all of uncut stone, which stones were chosen because nature had fitted them to be tables of Jehovah. They are all in the valleys, not

on high places at the summits of hills. Each has upon the face of the altar cup-shaped hollows with drains leading into them, these hollows having the same general arrangement in each. In the case of four, a cup-shaped hollow exists some feet to the northwest which seems to have a close relation to the altar. Two altars being out of place, it cannot be known whether such a hollow

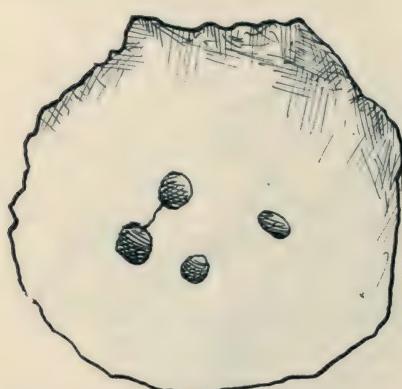


FIG. 9.

existed in their cases. In two instances a hollow exists on the step, or on what takes the place of the step, of the altar. That fire was used upon the altars is not clear unless we except the large hollow in the Der Eyub altar, and the large hollows in the altar in the mountains to the east of Der Eyub. One altar only had a building joining it.

These being the facts, what are we to conclude in regard to them? It seems clear that they are real altars, and since they exist in the territory set apart for and occupied by the tribes of Dan and Judah, is it not fair to consider them of Hebrew origin? Their existence confirms the impressions made by reading the Old Testament, that wherever the Hebrew people went, from the time of the early patriarchs to long after the return from Egypt, they consecrated altars for the worship of Jehovah, which altars existed in every village, constituting a sacred spot where the finite could commune with the Infinite. Doubtless there existed at the same time a central place of sacrifice and worship where, near the tabernacle and ark of the covenant,

the representatives of the people gathered at the great national feasts, and where daily burnt offerings were offered. The fact that the altars show almost no effect of fire is not strange, for these local altars were used mostly for the pouring out as a sacrifice of the blood of the animals slain. The blood thus poured upon the altar would be conducted by the drains into the cup-shaped hollows cut for its reception. The blood of all domestic animals was considered sacred, and by their law must be offered in sacrifice to Jehovah. Saul, after the defeat and pursuit of the Philistines from Michmash to Aijalon (1 Sam. 14:31-35), seeing that the people sinned in that the blood of the animals they killed in their hunger was not offered to Jehovah, ordered a rock altar set apart on the battlefield that the blood might be poured upon it. This altar of Saul was set up within a few miles of the ones I have described. This requirement alone would account for the presence of an altar in every town. It was not until a later time, after the worship had centered in the temple at Jerusalem and the sacrifices were offered up on the Rock of Moriah, that it became lawful to slay animals for food without offering the blood in sacrifice (Deut. 12: 21-24).

The large hollow in the altar at Der Eyub, together with the four large hollows in the first described altar to the east of Der Eyub, seem to show the effect of fire upon the stone. Perhaps all the altars show the same effect, only in a less degree. We know that the amount of fire actually used upon the altar was very small, for often the burning was done at the side of the altar. A portion of the thick fat of the animal offered was often all that was burned upon the altar. The hollow on the steps of the two altars spoken of might have been used for the wine of the drink offering, which offering was never poured upon the face of the altar (Num. 28:7), but on the steps or the ground about the altar. I do not know what the hollow to the northwest of the altars can be unless it was used as an altar of incense. In the temple this altar stood to the west of the great altar, as do these. Finally, in regard to the building in connection with one of the altars, is it not likely that it was used as a feast room? It is certain that the worship did not cease with

the offering of sacrifice. A feast often followed, when the people ate the principal part of the lamb or ox, if a burnt offering, of the corn (meal, or baked bread), wine, and oil, if a meat offering. This feast was often enjoyed by the whole village (1 Sam. 9:13), and as the private houses were too small to accommodate the people it was the custom to build houses near the altar for the feasts, and in which to store all things needed for the altar service. The building described was probably for this purpose.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE FIRST EPISTLE OF SAINT JOHN.

By PROFESSOR J. H. BARBOUR,
Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn.

Apparent lack of orderly arrangement.—Difficulties arising from the style of the writer.—(1) Monotony caused by repetition.—(2) Fewness of connecting particles.—(3) Unnoticed synonyms.—(4) Omission of connecting links in the chain of thought.—Analysis of the epistle.—Its general arrangement and distinct purpose.

In most of the New Testament epistles the general structure and main line of thought are clearly evident. But the first epistle of St. John seems like a disjointed series of meditations rather than like a letter with a definite purpose and plan. And yet the writer tells us that he had a clear purpose in view; and that not merely a general one, the increase of mutual joy (1:4), but a specific one, to furnish a test whereby the presence of the divine life in the soul might be recognized (5:13). The gospel is written, he says to his readers, "that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing ye may *have life*;" the epistle "unto you that [already] believe" for a further purpose, viz., "that ye may *know that ye have* eternal life." And we ought to hope that in spite of apparent difficulties we may find that a pastoral letter so composed has a distinct beginning, middle, and end, all bearing upon that purpose.

But if there be a plan, and a distinct course of thought, it is certainly obscured by some peculiarities of the writer's style which constitute very real difficulties. A discussion of these may well precede an attempt to set out in brief the argument of the epistle.

1. The first of these difficulties comes from the mental attitude caused by the *apparent repetition in one sentence of what has just been said* in the sentence preceding. An impression of monotony

is produced upon the mind; our intellectual faculties are lulled to sleep; the attention is diverted from the slight differences of expression to which we must look for the development of the thought, and is almost forced to dwell upon the repeated words and the similarities of expression. The parallelism of Hebrew poetry appears again and again; the second member of the couplet, however, is not a mere repetition of the first. We think that the writer has made a complete circle and come around to his starting point; we look again and see that the ends of the line do not meet, that a *loop* has been made, that the thought, instead of returning upon itself, has advanced a step. The movement of the thought is like a series of loops, or a spiral spring, rather than a straight line; where St. Paul is like the mountain torrent rushing with leaps and bounds directly to its goal, St. John is like the stream meandering in tranquil links through the quiet meadows.

Examples are countless; one of the best is to be found in the very first verses. The repetitions and the advance in thought may be thus represented:

1. (a) *That which was from the beginning,*
 (b) *that which we have heard . . . seen . . . handled*
 (c) *concerning the word of life,*
2. (c) *and the life*
 (b) *was manifested and we have seen*
 (d) *and bear witness and declare unto you*
 (c) *the life,*
- (a) *the eternal, which was with the Father*
 (b) *and was manifested unto us;*
3. (b) *that which we have seen and heard*
 (d) *declare we unto you also,*
 (e) *that ye also may have fellowship with us;*
 yea, and our fellowship is with the Father (a), and with his Son
 Jesus Christ (b).

Verse 1, it will be seen, brings out the character of the revelation in Christ; verse 2 recapitulates and adds the thought of apostolic testimony; verse 3 recapitulates again and adds the purpose of the testimony..

2. A second difficulty arises from another characteristic of Hebrew thought. The Hebrew language is as poor in connecting particles as the Greek is rich, and the Hebrew poverty appears to the full in this epistle. Where another writer would say "for," "because," "hence," "but," "yet," St. John often says simply "and," or even omits the conjunction entirely. *He puts his thoughts side by side, and leaves it to us to determine their relation.* This, indeed, adds to the suggestiveness of the epistle; for there may be more than one link of connection between two ideas, and the emphasizing of one by a definite particle might obscure another: at the same time this characteristic, taken in connection with the one previously mentioned, renders it necessary for the mind to keep upon the alert, and to make an active effort, if we would not have an effect produced like that of Psalm 119 or the Book of Proverbs. Take, for example, 3:2-6. The insertion of the needed words would have the effect of discords in the midst of a beautiful phrase of music; it would be at the expense of both fulness and beauty that we should gain clearness; and yet we might make insertions somewhat as follows: "It is not yet made manifest what we shall be; we know, however, that we shall be like him. . . . So then everyone that hath this hope purifieth himself. . . . For ye know that in him is no sin; consequently, whosoever abideth in him sinneth not, and, on the other hand, whosoever sinneth hath not seen him"

We may say, then, that the very simplicity of the style, showing itself thus in repetition and in asyndeton, constitutes the epistle difficult and obscure. Yet a truth found as the result of attention and thought is not less valuable, and when thus found it is more surely impressed upon the mind. And if, owing to the apparent lack of connection, the course of thought appears different to different minds, as the history of the interpretation of this epistle proves, who shall say that the whole truth is found in any one exposition, or that the church is not the richer for the variety of things, new and old, which instructed scribes have brought forth from this treasure of divine teaching?

Two other difficulties remain to be mentioned and illustrated.

3. Contrasted with the apparent repetitions and the meagerness of vocabulary is a less obvious characteristic: *the expression of the same or similar and related ideas in different words*, without anything to indicate a change of expression or the reason for it. The most striking instance begins with the disappearance after 1:7 of the word "fellowship," which at its introduction in 1:3 gives the keynote of the epistle. The purpose of the preaching of the word is to bring about "fellowship," communion, with God (1:3), and if we walk in the light we have this "fellowship" (1:7). When the idea recurs, however, an expression which is even stronger is used: to be or to abide in God. The connection of 2:5, 6 with chap. 1 is missed unless this is noted. But both these expressions of "fellowship" and "abiding" are synonymous with the idea which runs through the whole epistle, that of "life," life which is eternal. The ideas are brought together in 2:24, 25: "Ye shall abide in the Son and in the Father; and this [abiding] is the promise which he promised us, even the *life* eternal." But we have not reached the end of this group of synonyms. "Fellowship" or "communion" with God is sharing the "life" of God; but to share the Father's life is to be his "children" (3:1, 2, 10; 5:2); and in relation to one another "brothers;" and to receive this new life is to be "begotten" or "born" of God, a phrase not introduced until the end of the second chapter (2:29), but recurring 3:9; 4:7; 5:1, 18. The recognition of the fact that "brother," "begotten of God," "child of God" mean precisely the same thing helps us to understand the close connection of the passage 4:20—5:2. We need only add the fact that the "life" of God which his "children" thus share is the essence of God, which is "love" (4:8).

4. The fourth characteristic which throws light upon the sequence of ideas is akin to the third. We have seen how the third demands that we recognize synonyms as such, without explanation; this assumes that the mind will recognize the connection of *isolated links in a chain of ideas nowhere fully drawn out*, but everywhere implied. For example, 1:3 assumes a connection which is not at once obvious between the apostolic

"witness" and a resulting "fellowship." The whole group of ideas to which I allude occurs together, though somewhat unsystematically, in 4:7—5:3. I have ventured to draw it out in more systematic form. It describes the progress of love towards perfection, and may be entitled

THE DEVELOPMENT OF GOD'S LIFE IN THE CHURCH.

- (1) LOVE (4:8)=the (eternal) LIFE (1:2) of God=LIGHT (1:5; 2:10)
- (2) was manifested in Christ by the INCARNATION (4:9) and ATONEMENT (4:10).
- (3) This was seen by the apostles, who bear WITNESS thereof (1:2; 4:14),
- (4) to which we respond by FAITH in Christ as Son of God (4:15, 16a),
- (5) and God's love to us (4:16; 3:16) becomes the source of our LOVE TO HIM (4:19).
- (6) We have thus RECEIVED as a gift (3:1) the LOVE (=life, 3:14) of God (=are BEGOTTEN of him (4:7; 5:1, 19), =are CHILDREN OF GOD);
- (7) we share his (eternal) life (2:24b, 25; 5:12) = ABIDE in him (4:15, 16) (=have FELLOWSHIP with the Father and the Son, 1:3).
- (8) We LOVE AS BROTHERS (4:20) all the other children of God (5:1b) (for they share this fellowship, 1:3);
- (9) such love is shown in WORKS (3:17)=WALKING (2:6) in LIGHT (1:7) (=keeping commandments, 3:24a; 5:2, 3);
- (10) and herein is GOD'S LOVE PERFECTED IN US (2:5; 4:12, 17).

(This proves that God's Spirit dwells in us (3:24b; 4:13), and thereby further quickens our faith (5:7).)

It may be seen then, recurring to 1:3, "That which we have seen and heard declare we unto you also, that ye also may have fellowship with us," that the links which are there omitted are the fourth, fifth, and sixth above; that the witness of the apostles results in fellowship because they witness to God's love, to

which we respond by faith, whereby our own love is quickened, making us children sharing his likeness, and so in fellowship with all our brothers who share this same eternal life of God.

We see again why, throughout his epistles, St. John lays such stress upon a right faith in Christ as the Son of God. It is because that spirit of self-sacrificing love which is essential to a right life comes in its fulness from and depends for its growth upon our faith in the love of God as manifested in the incarnation and death of his Son.

With the preceding considerations in mind the following attempt to express briefly the line of thought of the epistle has been prepared. The endeavor has been made in each section to select from the midst of some repetitions of preceding ideas the thought which seems both to be the new one, and at the same time to stand in closest relation to the ideas of the sections preceding and following. The connection between the different sections has been shown, where possible, by combining the ideas of several sections in a single sentence. A brief summary of the whole is prefixed.

SUBJECT.—LOVE; THE COMMUNION OF GOD'S CHILDREN IN THE FATHER'S LIFE.

- I. *its necessity*, for God is unmixed light;
- II. *its nature*, righteousness like Christ's;
- III. *its source and result*, faith in the incarnation.

I:1-4 INTRODUCTION.—Faith in the apostolic witness leads to joyous communion with God.

I. LOVE IS A NECESSITY FOR THOSE IN COMMUNION WITH GOD; WORLDLINESS AND DENIAL OF THE INCARNATION ARE EXCLUDED.

- I : 5-10 We cannot have communion with God, and live in sin;
yet we are sinners,
2 : 1-6 but we are forgiven through Christ, if we abide in him
and live as he lived,

- 7-11 namely, a life of love, with no trace of its opposite.
 12-17 Now that you are forgiven and know the Father, you must avoid all worldliness ;
 18-23 and, recognizing that those who deny the incarnation of the Son lose their hold on the Father,
 24-29 maintain the faith through the Holy Spirit, and so retain the divine life, in union with the Son and the Father.

II. LOVE INVOLVES ACTIVE RIGHTEOUSNESS, WHICH ASSURES US OF THE INDWELLING OF THE SPIRIT, WHO TESTIFIES TO THE INCARNATION.

- 3 : 1-6 Those who by infused love are made God's children grow to maturity through constant self-purifying ;
 7-12 such show love in righteous acts, while the unrighteous and unloving are of Satan.
 13-18 Love is life ; it shows itself in acts of self-sacrifice after Christ's pattern,
 19-24 and these give confidence towards God because they prove the indwelling of his Spirit ;
 4 : 1-6 while false spirits are known by their denying the incarnation, and being listened to by the world.

III. LOVE SPRINGS FROM FAITH IN THE INCARNATION, AND ITS PRESENCE CONFIRMS THAT FAITH.

- 4 : 7-13 God is love, revealed in Christ, abiding by his Spirit in those who love ;
 14-21 this abiding depends on faith in the incarnation ; it involves likeness to Christ and love for all who share this life.
 5 : 1-5 Such love is known to be from God by our keeping his commands, which are made easy by the victory of our faith.
 6-12 The existence of this divine life in the soul of believers is God's testimony to them and to others of the truth of the incarnation.

EPILOGUE.—THIS LIFE FLOWS FROM GOD, SHOWS ITSELF IN
RIGHTEOUSNESS, LEADS TO INTERCESSION.

- 5:13-17 The possession of this life leads to confident intercession for the erring;
18-21 it is proved by an unworldly life of righteousness; and comes from the recognition of God in Christ, who *is* himself this life.

Looked at in this way, the arrangement of the epistle resembles that of a carefully planned sermon. The first division emphasizes the importance of the subject; the second develops the main practical thought; the third supplies encouragement to action, showing whence we gain the needed strength, and the happy result which follows,—by faith we increase love, by love we strengthen faith. And with this agree the opening words of each great division: 1:5, "This is the message: God is light and no darkness at all,"—you must be *wholly* on his side; 3:1, "See of what sort this love is which the Father has [not showed but] given to us;" 4:7, "Ye loved ones, let us love one another."

We see, lastly, how the purpose has been fulfilled which the writer states in the first words of his epilogue, 5:13, "These things have I written that ye may know that ye have life." The divine and eternal life in the soul is the gift of God, the gift of his own nature, even love; the means whereby it enters the soul is faith,—faith in the eternal love manifested in Christ; *the test and proof of the existence of this life is active righteousness*, self-sacrificing love for our brothers: "If we love one another God abideth in us, and his love is perfected in us; and hereby we know that we abide in him and he in us."

DILLMANN ON THE NATURE AND CHARACTER OF THE OLD TESTAMENT RELIGION.

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IN the recently published *Old Testament Theology*¹ of Dr. Dillmann, pages 25-74 are given to a preparatory discussion of the nature and character of the Old Testament religion, of which the following is a sketch.

1. Recognizing that every religion has its fundamental thought which is clearly stamped on all its parts, the question is raised, What is this fundamental thought in the Old Testament religion? The opinion that it is the unity of God is set aside, also the idea that it is the divine majesty. The holiness of God is the idea sought. It is more fundamental than that of unity, or that of majesty. In fact, it is the basis for both these conceptions, and it is the only one of the three ideas which forms an ethical basis for the relations between God and man ("Ye shall be holy, for I am holy"). It is also the only conception which secures a basis for moral freedom in God, and which permits such freedom on the part of man. God in revealing his activity as holy and sanctifying, necessitates human freedom. The Old Testament religion in giving this idea of holiness which brings freedom also secures an historical development of the relation between God and man.

2. From this fundamental idea is derived a multitude of views, conceptions, and teachings which are peculiar to this religion in contrast with all others, and which came into human knowledge only in the course of a long historical development.

The sharpest contrast appears in the idea of God himself, a being not created, not limited by space or time, without form or

¹ *Handbuch der Alttestamentlichen Theologie*, von August Dillmann. Aus dem Nachlass des Verfassers. Herausgegeben von Rudolf Kittel. Leipzig, S. Hirzel, 1895.

image, without multiplicity or limitation, not bound to nature or bound by the powers of nature, but rather he is free and the master of the entire visible nature. All this gives monotheism. The freedom of the visible world and mastery of it, nothing of which exists apart from his will, gives a doctrine of creation in the full sense, and accident and fate are alike excluded.

The idea of the divine holiness yields yet greater results, for it brings to light the real character of evil in human history as being sin. Hence it gives the profoundly ethical view of nature and human history as a peculiar characteristic of this religion, and as one which formed its inner life.

The idea of holiness, therefore, hovers before man as the standard for his life, and it dominates the relation between God and man as an ideal which was to become actual.

This proper relation between God and man became actual through the instrumentality of historic facts. At the outset this relation was in the form of law which concerned outward conduct; that is, it existed as legal obligation. It had an educative force leading from the recognition of the obligations concerning matters in the outward life to those which belonged to the inner life. The relation between God and man thus expressed in the form of legal obligation was fundamentally ethical, and was, therefore, adapted to the entire human race from the beginning. In God's choice to secure human holiness lay the necessity to limit to the nation Israel the historical manifestation of his relationship to mankind and to do this by means of a covenant in which was a legal element.

3. The relationship of the Old Testament religion to that of the New Testament is close in the most important particulars. The fundamental conception of God is the same in both, and the law is recognized in both as the expression of his holy will. The redemptive aim is the same in both, namely, that of securing the holiness of men because God is holy; this goal of the Old Testament is to be secured through the power manifested in the New Testament. In this likeness the two stages of development have distinct characteristics which must be recognized.

4. The relation of the Old Testament to heathenism. Every-

where in the Old Testament its religion is set in sharp antagonism to every form of heathenism with which it comes into contact. Nowhere in heathenism are the ideas of God set free from the ideas of nature in which their deities originated, while in the Old Testament God is free from nature and the Creator of it. Those religions originated in prehistoric times and are local or racial, not ethical; while the Old Testament religion was established by means of definite historical facts (or, it might be said, revelations of God) and by definite historical persons, and is preëminently ethical. In the nature religions the deep idea of moral evil as sin is lacking; it appears as a natural imperfection coinciding with natural evil.

On the other hand, in many secondary points there is similarity between the Old Testament religion and heathenism, where it differs from the New Testament. Among these are the limitation of the religion to only one people, the prescriptions concerning outer conduct, the modes of worship confined to one temple, the sacrificial offerings, the dwelling of the deity in the temple. Also are to be noted the allowance of many usages, as slavery, polygamy, blood revenge and a crude morality. The historical development of the Old Testament religion was a steady progress departing more and more from all these secondary likenesses to heathenism by virtue of its fundamental unlikeness.

5. How is the origin of the Old Testament religion to be explained? It is not possible to explain it as the development of the monotheistic conception, whether regarded as a relic of primeval revelation derived from Egyptian theology or from any other source. The fundamental thought of Mosaic religion is more profound than mere monotheism.

It is not a stage of development intermediate between the nature religions and Christianity. Historical evidence fails to support this theory, and this theory fails to explain the Old Testament conception of the divine holiness. Moreover, the development of this conception, becoming most powerful when the national life was hastening to its downfall, is not explained on the theory of the intermediate character of the religion.

Nor can it be explained as the result of the religious tendencies in the race of Israel. The history of the race shows that neither the Semites in general, nor Israel in particular, had any natural tendencies toward monotheism, to say nothing of ethical monotheism.

The conclusion is that another factor must be added in order to explain the facts, and that is revelation, the historical self-attestation of God.

6. How are we to think of the beginning and course of revelation? This revelation was special and for the establishment of religion. Religion is not knowledge, but it presupposes ideas of God more or less clear, and these ideas, when trustworthy, come from the direct influence of God. Revelation is essentially for founding and organizing religion. All religion rests upon the fact that God takes hold of the human soul—upon a revelation in the wide sense; not alone in the biblical religions, but also in heathen religions so far as there was real religiousness in them. The task of revelation is nothing else than to bring religion into existence. The object and contents of revelation concern only God, divine things, divine truths, and the relation of God and man.

The experience of God manifesting himself to man is a pre-supposition of the formation of an idea of God. This formation of the idea of God is a long historical process, a series of phenomena through which something became manifest concerning God, and belongs to high antiquity. Revelation is not itself an end, it is a means to an end, namely, the establishment of religion; it comes to men prepared to receive it, and at periods for which providential preparation had been made.

The signs or marks by which revelation is to be known are: (1) It is for founding religion and is something new at least to him who receives it. (2) It is developed historically, disclosing first of all and in individual instances what in that given instance is the divine will, the necessary divine truth. (3) It is peculiar to antiquity. (4) It is brought about by the instrumentality of particular men, and by acts of revelation on God's part. (5) It gives knowledge which is actually new, and operates with divine authority, convincingly and imperatively pro-

ducing immediate certainty and a firm conviction on the part of him who receives it, such as can never come from speculation, and which experience alone produces by operating on the human spirit with purifying and exalting power. The three latter signs are the chief tests whether the revelations actually have a higher source; the others must be used for putting to test that which is given in experience.

7. Why did this revelation come to fruitage in Israel alone? Heathenism is not wholly bereft of revelation of God, but its revelation did not go on to completion as in Israel. There is no standing still in human relations with God. If there be no progress then there is depravation by reason of failure to struggle for the mastery of the tendencies to error. In this sense there was a primeval revelation if it be understood to mean a stage of development preceding the sinking.

In Israel, on the other hand, there was a development from incompleteness toward completeness; away from error and perversion toward the right and perfect. A people was selected long after the careers of the civilized races of antiquity had begun, within the light of history, a race of nomads simple in faith and life. By wonderful deeds of God they were torn loose from a great civilized race; under the leading of a great man who had received divine revelations, and of religious heroes, under the impulse of manifold providences, and by the use of the means of revelation and by the fruits of revelation their history was made unique and diverse from that of the nations.

The progress of this religious life was such as to prepare for Christianity which became its matured fruit, the universal religion for which the Old Testament religion was the preparation, and which is the proof of the sanctifying power of the Old Testament religion itself.

If this sketch is not too imperfect, it hints plainly the uncommon value of the full discussion, and should tempt those who can to read it for themselves. It is to be hoped that the entire volume will be translated, and that at no late day. Any needless delay will be a loss to those readers who must wait until it can appear in English.

Aids to Bible Readers.

THE FORESHADOWINGS OF THE CHRIST. VI.

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VII. FORESHADOWINGS FROM THE TIME OF THE BABYLONIAN EXILE.

The Exile.—History.—Outward events and environment.—Spiritual progress in the Exile.—Three Periods.—Hopes for the future.—Return.—The New Community.—Foreshadowings.—The “Servant.”

I. THE HISTORY OF THE EXILE.

The time of the exile was coincident with one of the most decisive and critical epochs of the world's history. It was also the period in which the people of Israel passed through a great spiritual revolution. Its duration is somewhat indefinite. There was a gradual dispersion of the Hebrew people, beginning from the last years of the northern kingdom. It is evident that the Hebrews found refuge during the troubled times of the last century of the state in all parts of the oriental world, upon the western seacoast and the islands, in Egypt, in northern Syria, in Mesopotamia, and in the lower Euphrates valley. It is usual to regard the exiles as those who were removed to Babylon by Nebuchadrezzar and to accept the prophetic number of seventy years as the time of their sojourn there. But it is impossible to settle upon any one event in the history of the time from which seventy years can be counted to a second definite event closing the exile, and it has been estimated that there were at least six different deportations of sections of the Jewish people into the region of Babylonia. We purpose, therefore, as introductory to the study of the foreshadowings of this period, to hasten rapidly over the history of the age of the Jewish exile in its larger scope.

1. *The last days of Judah.*—The transfer of the kingdom of Judah from Egypt to Babylon consequent upon the defeat of Necho at the battle of Carchemish, B. C. 604, seems to have been the occasion of a deportation which is mentioned in Dan. 1:1. Jehoiakim remained

faithful to Nebuchadrezzar for some years, but in 598 he rebelled at the instigation of Egypt. The rebellion was promptly suppressed and the offenders punished, though Jehoiakim probably died before Nebuchadrezzar or his army reached the city of Jerusalem. His son Jehoiakin had to suffer the penalty in his stead, and with him, in 597, the best of the citizens were carried to Babylonia and there settled. Among them was the prophet Ezekiel. Nebuchadrezzar placed upon the throne Zedekiah, whom he expected to prove faithful. Once in the course of his reign Zedekiah must needs go to Babylon to assure the king of his fidelity, but finally the pressure became too great for him, and in 587 he seems to have revolted. This time the people recognized the desperate character of their situation and defended the city with great obstinacy for some months, but at last in 586 it was captured, the walls and temple demolished, the city fired, and the great mass of the inhabitants removed to Babylonia. Jeremiah, who had expected this condition of things and predicted it, chose to remain with the lowest class of the population for the purpose of preserving, if possible, the continuity of the national life. But the Israelite prince, Gedaliah, placed in authority by the Chaldaeans, was murdered by a fanatic or a freebooter, and those who were left in authority, fearing the consequences, fled to Egypt, carrying Jeremiah with them.

2. *The new Babylonian, or Chaldaean, Empire.*—The deported Jews found themselves planted in the great center of the world's life and under the control of a ruler, than whom in all preceding history none was greater. The task which lay before Nebuchadrezzar was one of restoration and consolidation, and he performed it with vigor and success. Babylonia, as the prize between the contending Assyrians and Chaldaeans, had suffered terribly. Its capital had been utterly destroyed by one Assyrian conqueror, rebuilt by another, and was the center of a great revolt under the last great Assyrian king Assurbanipal. Nebuchadrezzar's work, as his inscriptions indicate, was devoted to the rebuilding of the ruined city and the restoration of trade and agriculture throughout his land. It is not unlikely that the Jews were transported to the very heart of his dominions in order that they might occupy depopulated lands and assist in carrying out the king's policy. As the representative of a new dynasty, and of the victory of a new people, the Chaldaeans, over the ancient Semitic Babylonians, it was also the purpose of Nebuchadrezzar to consolidate the two peoples into one nation. To this end he seems to have devoted himself to the propagation of a special form of religious faith, viz., the worship of

the city god of Babylon, Marduk, and expressions in his inscription concerning this deity in their fervor and devotion have reminded scholars of the Hebrew psalms. During his long reign it is probable that the commerce and trade of Babylonia reached their highest point, and the fame of the great king as a builder, an administrator, and a warrior extended into all the earth.

But there were two difficulties in the way of the accomplishment of his purpose. His successors were unequal to the task of carrying out his policy, and at his death the amalgamation of the two peoples was not sufficiently strong to endure. Intrigues and murders characterized the few years that followed him, while in the person of the last king of the empire, Nabonidus, the Semitic Babylonian element appears again to have laid hold of the reins of government. But besides this internal weakness a more threatening difficulty was apparent from without. The Median kingdom, which had united with the Babylonian in the overthrow of Assyria, and had received as its portion of the spoils the lands to the north and east of the Tigris, had gained new life, and was pushing on in every direction to conquest under the rule of the young and energetic Persian Cyrus. The conflict could not be long delayed. The other world powers, Lydia, Sparta, Egypt, and Babylon, allied themselves against him in vain. Lydia was the first to fall. Then followed Babylon, which in 538 opened its gates to the conqueror. The old Semitic empires disappear; a new race, the Aryan, takes up the reins of government, and a new era in the world's history begins.

All these wonderful changes took place while the Jews were settled in Babylonia, and culminated in that very land. One of the very first events which followed the conquest of Cyrus was the promulgation of the decree by which the Jews were permitted to return to their old home.

3. *The inner history of the exiles.*—What were the Jews thinking and doing during these eventful years passed by them among the rivers of Babylon? This is a most important question; but the answer to it is equally difficult. Our only source of direct knowledge comes from the historical records of the Jews which illumine the beginning and the end of the period. They tell us of the destruction and the deportation, they tell us of the return, but except for one or two facts there is silence concerning the life of the exiles between these points.

But there are records of what prophets taught them during these years, and from these we may infer with a reasonable degree of success

the course of their life. The two great unquestionably historic figures are Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Jeremiah's later life during those sad years of Zedekiah's reign and the entire active career of Ezekiel were spent in what we may call the period of the exile. Jeremiah, however, devoted himself primarily to the people of Jerusalem. Only once does he seem to have concerned himself with the affairs of the exiles. Ezekiel is preëminently the prophet of the exile.

Chapters 40—66 of the Book of Isaiah, whether we hold that it is the production of Isaiah of Jerusalem or of an unknown second Isaiah of the exile, deal with the condition and prospects of Israel in exile, and thus throw light upon their thoughts and condition. Songs from the Psalter are ascribed to this period and illustrate its character. The most difficult problem in this connection is to determine the use to be made of the Book of Daniel. There is a general consensus of opinion that the book in its present form belongs to a much later period, and that the narratives of the first six chapters and the prophecies of the rest of the book bear the stamp of a writer addressing Israel suffering from the cruelties of Antiochus IV. But it seems reasonable to hold that the experiences of Daniel and his companions were in essential harmony with the traditions which rooted in the exilic period, and may be employed, therefore, in a general way to elucidate and confirm the undoubted utterances and experiences of the exiled people.

Gathering together all this information and analyzing it, we may distinguish several periods in the spiritual history of the exiles. (1) Those who were deported in 597 cherished in their captivity the confident expectation that they would soon return. It was a false hope against which Ezekiel preached with all his might, though in vain, until the actual overthrow of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar in 586 confirmed his teaching, destroyed the false confidence, and reduced the people to utter despair. (2) After the first shock of grief was over they were the more ready to listen to the demand of the prophet for repentance, and we have much evidence going to show that the middle period of the exile was a time of profound repentance among them. It is to this repentant and chastened community that Ezekiel preached in his later period, and for them he unrolled the vivid and detailed panorama of the restored nation and temple. The echo of the prophet's preaching during these years is heard in those elegies which make up the pathetic Book of Lamentations. But Ezekiel's voice is hushed while Nebuchadrezzar still reigns, and while the yoke of Chaldaean authority still presses. For ten years longer there is no light.

The promises remain unfulfilled. (3) What wonder that the community again begins to despair, that many fall away, and emphasize their apostasy by the persecution of those who remain faithful. Nebuchadrezzar dies, and the troubles of the following years and the appearance of Cyrus bring matters to a climax. The apostates are yet more bitter, the Babylonian yoke more severe, but also the faithful hope anew and look for speedy release. Unable to understand altogether the meaning of Jehovah's permitting them to suffer, they yet endure, cheered and enlightened by the message that has been preserved for us in the second part of Isaiah. At last the hour comes and they are free to realize their hopes. They rejoice in the fulfilment of Jehovah's promises to his servant and prepare for the homeward journey.

II. OUTLOOKS FOR THE FUTURE.

The material in the writings of this period which might justly be laid under contribution in the discussion of the Foreshadowings is so considerable and important that it cannot be successfully considered in a few pages. It will be necessary, therefore, to select the most salient points and endeavor to group about them that which, though worthy of special consideration, must be regarded as subordinate. Much will be left for the student to work out for himself.

1. *The return and restoration.*—One might almost say that the predominant note struck by the writings of this time is the expectation of return to the old land and the restoration of the old institutions. Earlier prophets had already promised it. The voices of this time repeat with renewed emphasis the joyful message (*Ezek. 11:17; 36:24; Isa. 43:5; 45:13; 61:4*).

In *Isaiah 40—66*, where this return is as it were at the door, the most vivid pictures are given of the homeward march. As they pass through the desert, Jehovah leading them, springs of water appear to refresh them; verdure starts up on every side. The stunted growth is transformed into the splendid forest, and with rejoicings upon their lips they move onward into the promised land (*Isa. 40:3–5, 10; 41:15–20; 48:20, 21; 49:6–13; 51:9–11; 52:1–12*).

A typical passage of restoration is that of *Ezekiel 34:11–31*. Jehovah is the good shepherd who seeks the lost sheep, who divides between the true and the false, who brings the flock back to its old pasture. The land becomes fruitful once more, the inhabitants live independent of all surrounding peoples, in security. The form of government is the old kingdom. At its head is placed a prince of the

line of David or one reproducing his character and activity. In Ezekiel 37:15-28 Israel is to return as well as Judah. There is to be but one kingdom under the old Davidic king. Compare also the parable of the cedar twig (Ezek. 17:22-24).

A central thought in all this is the re-establishment of the worship of Jehovah in the temple. The exiles did not know how to worship God aright after the destruction of his temple and their removal from Zion. The ancient idea was still strong with them that Jehovah, the nation's God, could not be rightly served after the destruction of his nation and the removal of his people from their homes. So they ardently longed for restoration on this account, that they might properly render to him that service which was his due in the way which he had appointed. Ezekiel and the second Isaiah refer again and again to this, and Ezekiel especially has devoted his last chapters to an imaginary picture of the restored temple and its worship, about which the new community is gathered (Ezek. 20:40; 40-48; Isa. 44:28; 56:7; 52:1, 11).

2. *The new community.*—The nation has perished. How shall it be revived and be prepared for its return and restoration? This was the great problem of the exilic prophets. The vision that they beheld was as strange as it was splendid. Reference has already been made to the development of Isaiah's thought of the "remnant" by Jeremiah. Jehovah would write his statutes upon their hearts. The new nation would spontaneously obey Jehovah's will. Ezekiel goes a step farther. With him the implied individualism of Jeremiah becomes explicit. Jehovah deals with every man according to his deeds (Ezek. 3:16-21; 18:1-32; 33:10-20). Thus the community which is built up under his inspiration is composed of individuals who enter into personal relation with Jehovah and are united together by being united to him. And for such a community as this Jehovah promises to remove the unresponsive stony heart and to supply the heart of flesh, inspired with his spirit. With them is an everlasting covenant made and Jehovah takes up his abode with them (Ezek. 36:25-27; 11:19, 20; 37:26, 27).

This body of the faithful assumes in the eyes of the second Isaiah a position of wonderful dignity. Its title with him is "the Servant" (41:8; 44:1; 49:3). To it a lofty mission is assigned, that of teaching to all nations the knowledge and service of the true God (42:1-7; 49:6). In wonderful imagery he pictures the nations coming with their gifts, yielding up their treasure, offering their services in behalf of Jehovah's servant (43:3; 44:5; 45:14; 49:22, 23; 52:15).

But the servant is not without his trials also. There was an Israel, a "Servant," which was slow to accept Jehovah's way, which was despairing and hopeless under its accumulated misfortunes, as well as a "Servant" that accepted in faith and hope the will of its God and sought to obey him in the darkness as well as in the light. How shall the prophet explain the misery and torture of the exile life with its separation from Jehovah, with its despair, its suffering occasioned by the pride of the captor and the arrogance of the apostate (Isa. 50:5, 6; 51:17-23; 48:1-11)? For there was still another Israel besides the "Servant"—a false Israel, who had departed from Jehovah and accepted the idols. These were the more willing to prove their fidelity to their new gods by persecution of the faithful servants of him whom they deserted. To this faithful, suffering community the prophet explains the meaning of their condition, and holds forth a sublime prospect of their future. As they are the messengers of Jehovah to reveal his character to those who are about them, so their sufferings patiently endured are to be a means whereby Jehovah's name shall be exalted and Jehovah's character vindicated. They are punished on behalf of others. That which is inflicted upon them is what should be borne by their enemies. But out of their sufferings and by means of them they, too, shall rise to a more glorious future. They will be vindicated, and Jehovah shall highly exalt them. This will become clear, indeed, only later to those who have been redeemed through the obscure and suffering "Servant." They will understand it and wonder and glorify him (Isa. 52:13—53:12; Ps. 22).

Such was the ideal community which before the inspired vision of the exiled prophets appeared as the consummation of Jehovah's grace. As has been suggested, its character is above all else spiritual. A new heart has been bestowed upon it. Jehovah's spirit dwells with it. It is free from evil doing. Idolatry has disappeared from it. Jehovah alone is its God. The realization of this community brings with it so wondrous a transformation of life that the prophet can picture it only as the advent of a new heaven and a new earth (Isa. 65:17-25).

III. THE FORESHADOWINGS.

These points should suggest some definite Messianic applications and determinations.

1. We cannot help noticing the combination of high spiritual anticipations with *local and temporal expectations*. The prophet who saw the ideal Israel as endowed with a new heart and inspired with

Jehovah's spirit looks for an immediate restoration, the rebuilding of the temple, and the revival of the ritual worship in a purified and more highly developed form. How strange! How incomprehensible, indeed, unless one looks at it from the historical point of view! Then it is clear how, in view of the concurrent testimony of the prophets of old to this outcome, the seer, hampered by the exilic environment, must needs behold these large truths in their temporal form. Unfortunately, one is almost tempted to say, it was this narrow and material view which dominated the succeeding ages, which turned the whole current of Jewish life into formalism and ritualism, and blinded the spiritual vision of the generations that followed, even to the present day, when interpreters would fain turn what is concerned with the husk, the temporary form, of the revelation into symbolical and fantastic pictures of what is still to come.

2. The prophecy of this age and its outlooks into the future caught in large, vague outline a vision of *the era of grace*. Already, indeed, earlier prophets had here and there touched upon it — Hosea in his matchless pictures of divine love, Isaiah, in his message of deliverance in the midst of disaster, Jeremiah, preëminently, with his insight into Jehovah's relation to the individual soul and his assurance of the divine forgiveness. But now, as never before, are these thoughts conceived and these hopes entertained in clear and definite forms, and developed into articles of faith. This may be said to be one of the especial elements in Ezekiel's vision. It is the secret of his delineation of Jehovah, who by some students is thought to have been presented by the prophet as utterly separate from man, as a despot, carrying out with unyielding rigor his self-centered purposes. They fail to grasp, however, that these elements of Jehovah's character only reflect all the more clearly that which lies beneath them, viz., the supreme purpose of this mighty and incomparable Jehovah to bestow salvation of his own free grace upon his people. "That ye may know that I am Jehovah," the refrain which sounds so monotonously through the prophet's messages, is the motto of the new dispensation, in which Jehovah will save even to the uttermost, raising his people from the dead and bestowing upon them the Divine Spirit. Likewise the prophet brings the whole history of Israel's past under contribution to illustrate and emphasize the same splendid assurance. And this manifestation of grace is unspeakably wondrous in its achievements. It transforms human life. It brings the individual into immediate spiritual relation to God. It purifies and hallows his character. With such

logical insight is this thought developed that Davidson's words are not too strong when he says that such a passage as Ezek. 36:24-29 "reads like a fragment of a Pauline epistle."

The same thoughts are suggested from a different point of view in the second Isaiah. To the crushed and ruined exiles comes the voice of the herald proclaiming the advent of Jehovah who is to lead them on, sustaining them by his strength, inspiring and guiding them by his spirit, purifying them by his presence, who is the High and Holy One, sending them forth thus redeemed, to be in their turn the heralds of his advent to the nations.

3. The supreme Messianic foreshadowing of this age considered in its more definite aspect is the idea of *the holy community* depicted by these prophets. It cannot but be observed by any student who examines with unprepossessed judgment these prophetic utterances that there is a lack of definite reference to a personal Messiah, or at least a want of emphasis upon such a thought. David is mentioned once or twice; a parable or so like that of the cedar twig is given. But in the place of the individual appears the community. The very fact that these exilic prophets conceived of a religious body separate from national life, united by an individual relation to Jehovah, is a remarkable prefiguring of the Church. The various details which gather about this conception are equally striking. Earlier prophets, indeed, had already looked forward to the restored nation as the religious center of the world. But while the same thoughts appear here also, yet in the conception of the "Servant" by the second Isaiah a great step forward was taken, in that Israel now goes forth to the nations with its message of Jehovah. It becomes a prophet, preaching the message of righteousness and obedience to the holy God in all the earth.

A remarkable turn, also, is given in representing this same community of the faithful as a victim slain on behalf of sinners. It is the culmination of the priestly and the ritual conceptions of the past, but wonderfully transformed, so that Israel is not merely a priestly nation mediating on behalf of men, but offering itself as the acceptable and potent sacrifice. And as a result of its work in both these directions it is glorified and exalted beyond all expectation and imagination.

Who can fail to be impressed with the foreshadowing in these prophetic ideals? And they have been conceived under forms of speech so individualistic that, though the author may not have meant it, they have been in the consciousness of the faithful and devout in all ages centered upon him, who is above all others the "Servant of Jehovah."

Inductive Studies in the Acts.

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THE PRIMITIVE ERA OF CHRISTIANITY.

AS RECORDED IN THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

30-63 A. D.

SEC. 12. PETER RETAUGHT THE FREEDOM OF CHRISTIANITY FROM JUDAISM.

Acts 10:1-48. About 40 A. D. Joppa, Cæsarea.

I. STUDY OF THE FACTS.

Let the following subclassification of the material in this section be verified, corrected, or improved:

- Par. 1. 10:1-8, The Divine Communication to Cornelius.
- Par. 2. 10:9-16, The Divine Communication to Peter.
- Par. 3. 10:17-23a, Peter and the Messengers of Cornelius.
- Par. 4. 10:23b-33, Peter's Mission to Cæsarea.
- Par. 5. 10:34-43, Peter's Address to Cornelius and his Friends.
- Par. 6. 10:44-48, Gentiles Received as such into Christian Fellowship.

1. Prepare a brief abstract of the material contained in this section, noting the chief facts and recounting them in your own language.

2. Write out a careful paraphrase of Peter's address (vss. 34-43), reproducing as exactly as possible the thought and the spirit of the text.

II. TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION.

1. *Cornelius and his vision.*—Locate Cæsarea upon the map, and learn something about the city as it was at that time. Ascertain what can be known about Cornelius, as to his nationality, his official position, and the occasion of his residence in Cæsarea. Look up other New Testament references to centurions. What information is

given as to his character and religious life (*cf.* vss. 2, 22)? Explain vs. 4, last clause (*cf.* vs. 31). What was his relation to the religion of the Jews? Were such as he peculiarly prepared for receiving the gospel? Was Cornelius somewhat acquainted with the facts of Christ's life (*cf.* vss. 37, 38)? State the circumstances under which the vision was given to Cornelius. What was the substance of the vision? What was the nature of it? What was the purpose of it? Why was a supernatural communication necessary in this instance? Compare with each other the four accounts of this vision (10: 3-6, 22, 30-33; 11: 13, 14), noting and explaining any divergences in the reports. Why does the narrator dwell at so much length, and with so much repetition, upon this incident?

2. *The revelation to Peter.*—What were the circumstances under which Peter also received a divine communication? Note the oriental customs alluded to in vs. 9, last clause. Compare the account of this in 10: 9-16 with that given in 11: 5-10, explaining the variations. What was the difference between a trance (vs. 10, *ekstasis*) and a vision (vs. 3, *horama*)? Consider how this special manifestation to Peter corresponds to and complements that given Cornelius. What was the substance of Peter's trance? Note that it attaches to Peter's natural condition of hunger. Why must Peter be taught this truth of the universal and spiritual nature of the gospel in this special way? When did the meaning of the revelation become clear to him? Before the trance, what was Peter's position regarding the clean and the unclean, and why (*cf.* Lev. 11; Deut. 14; Dan. 1: 8-12)? When did this ceremonial legislation arise among the Jews? What was the purpose of such distinctions and restrictions? What had been Jesus' teaching regarding them (*cf.* Mark 7: 1-10)? Why was the whole system superseded by Christianity? Compare Paul's teaching upon this matter (*cf.* Rom. 2: 28, 29; 14: 14). How was it possible for the apostles, and for the most part the disciples, to fail so completely in apprehending Jesus' emphatic and clear condemnation of Jewish ceremonialism?

3. *Peter's address to Cornelius and his friends.*—Consider the following analysis of Peter's speech: *a*) a declaration that Christianity is for all who will; *b*) an appeal for its acceptance by preaching Jesus, as to his person, his work, his death, his resurrection, and his exaltation; *c*) a prophetic substantiation of this; *d*) an announcement of redemption and forgiveness of sins through Christ. Should it be inferred from 10: 44; 11: 15 that Peter was interrupted in his speech by the coming of the Spirit upon them, so that he did not finish what

he had intended to say? Compare Peter's address on this occasion with those previously recorded of him (*cf.* 2: 14-36; 3: 12-26; 4: 8-12; 5: 29-32), and observe what is peculiar to this address. Consider carefully all of Peter's statements about Jesus in his words to Cornelius. What is Peter's teaching in vss. 34, 35 concerning the relation of the devout and good Gentiles to God—that they are acceptable without becoming Christians, or that they are peculiarly ready for Christianity (*cf.* Rom. 10: 12, 13)? How does vs. 43 stand in doctrinal relation with vss. 34, 35? Observe how Peter adapts his argument to his hearers, subordinating the argument from Jewish prophecy because those to whom he spoke were Gentiles.

4. *The Gentile Pentecost.*—Observe that Peter in 11:17 regards this impartation of the Holy Spirit to the Gentiles as parallel with that of Pentecost to the Jews (Acts 2). Compare the two events as to time, circumstances, phenomena, and importance. Why in this case did the Spirit baptism precede the water baptism? Did the latter indicate the acceptance of these Gentile converts into the Christian fellowship of the disciples, while the former indicated their acceptance by God? Why were they not baptized into the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost (vs. 48, *cf.* Matt. 28: 19)? Previous to this Cornelius event, what was the conception of the apostles as to the salvation of the Gentiles? How was this different from Christ's conception, and why? How came it that this tremendous truth of the gospel was not developed and enforced by Christ himself, but was left for the primitive Christians to realize? Was the question of admitting Gentiles directly into Christianity without conformity to Judaism faced by Peter for the first time at Cæsarea? Why was Peter divinely chosen to decide this important matter? What light had already been thrown upon the problem by the preaching of Stephen? Explain how a step in this direction had already been taken by the apostles in their recognition of the Samaritan Christians.

III. OBSERVATIONS AND TEACHINGS.

1. *Organization.*—Up to this point all the disciples had been Jews either by birth or by adoption; now, in the case of Cornelius and his friends, Gentiles were admitted as such into Christian fellowship.

2. *Environment.*—Cornelius was one of a large class of Gentiles who, disgusted with their national pagan religions, had accepted the spiritual religion of the Jews as worthier and more satisfactory; yet he

and his class were anxious for some form of religion still better, as their interest in Christianity attested.

3. *Institutions.*—The observance of the Jewish ceremonial law was a feature of the life of most of the Christians, though it may be inferred that the followers of Stephen were free from it.—The new Gentile converts were baptized in the name of Jesus Christ.

4. *Belief and teaching.*—Previous to the Cornelius event all of the apostles and the great body of disciples held that, while the gospel was also for and should be preached to the Gentiles, nevertheless they could become Christians only after they had become Jews by submitting to the rite of circumcision and conforming to Jewish customs in general.—This was not Jesus' teaching, and Stephen had attacked its externalism; by Peter's experience with Cornelius he was led to see and acknowledge that the gospel was universal and spiritual.

5. *Daily life.*—Peter was accompanied upon this occasion by six Jewish Christians from Joppa who acted as witnesses, advisers, and assistants in this critical experience.

6. *Divine guidance.*—The Holy Spirit was imparted to the Gentile converts with much the same circumstance and impressiveness as to the Jewish converts on the day of Pentecost.—The time had come, in God's providence, for an expansion of the gospel which would embrace both Jews and Gentiles, and on an equal footing.—Peter was inspired to declare that Christianity was for all, independently of Judaism, and he preached Jesus in the essential aspects of his person and work.

Literature.—Upon this section see the commentaries on Acts, especially those of GLOAG, HACKETT, MEYER, and the CAMBRIDGE BIBLE. Also NEANDER, Planting and Training of the Christian Church, Vol. I, pp. 66–76; Vol. II, pp. 81–87; FARRAR, Life and Work of St. Paul, chap. 15; CONYBEARE AND HOWSON, Life and Epistles of St. Paul, chap. 4; STIFLER, Introduction to the Book of Acts, sec. ix; WEIZSÄCKER, Apostolic Age of the Christian Church, Vol. I, pp. 103–104; BIBLE DICTIONARY, articles Cæsarea, Centurion, Cornelius, House, Peter, Unclean Meats, Vision.

SEC. 13. CONCURRENCE OF THE JERUSALEM CHRISTIANS IN PETER'S ACTION.

Acts 11:1–18. About 40 A. D. Jerusalem.

I. STUDY OF THE FACTS.

Let the following subclassification of the material in this section be verified, corrected, or improved:

Par. 1. 11:1–3, Peter Called to Account by the Jerusalem Christians.

Par. 2. 11:4-17, His Report and Defense of his Reception of Cornelius.

Par. 3. 11:18, Concurrence of Jerusalem Christians in Peter's Action.

Prepare a brief abstract of the material contained in this section.

II. TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION.

1. *The self-justification of Peter.*—Was Peter summoned to Jerusalem to explain his action, or was his return simply awaited? Trace upon the map the route which Peter would probably take in returning from Cæsarea to Jerusalem. In view of Peter's patient, painstaking presentation of the matter, what importance did he consider it to have? Was his simple narration of his divinely arranged experience the best calculated to carry conviction and acceptance of the newly developed truth? How was he supported by the six Joppa witnesses who had been at Cæsarea, and were now present at Jerusalem (vs. 12, cf. 10:23)? Compare carefully the account in vss. 5-14 with the parallel account in chap. 10, explaining such variations as appear. Consider Peter's syllogistic argument in vss. 16, 17: *a)* the disciples of Jesus were to receive the baptism of the Holy Spirit; *b)* the Gentiles had received that baptism; *c)* therefore the Gentiles were disciples. How does Peter regard this event as compared with the Jewish Pentecost of Acts 2? What was Peter's conclusion from this Cornelius experience? How did this differ from his previous conceptions?

2. *Concurrence of the Jerusalem Christians.*—Exactly what was the ground of the objections raised against Peter's relations to Cornelius? Explain in detail the meaning and allusions of vs. 3 (cf. Acts 10:28; Mark 2:16). Who were the persons who found fault with Peter (explain the phrase (vs. 2) "they that were of the circumcision")? What proportion of the Jerusalem Christians joined in this condemnation? What previous experiences should have prepared them, and in some measure did prepare them, for this admission to Christianity of Cornelius and his friends (cf. chaps. 6, 7, 8, 9)? What was the effect of Peter's argument in defense of his Cæsarean action upon the Jerusalem Christians? As recognized leader in the Christian movement would his influence be very great? What then was the decision of the Jerusalem Christians regarding Peter's admission of Cornelius and his friends to full Christian fellowship? Was this decision regarded as establishing a principle and precedent, or was the Cornelius case looked upon as exceptional (compare the attitude of the Jerusalem Christians ten years later as it appears in Acts 15)?

III. OBSERVATIONS AND TEACHINGS.

1. *Organization*.—The Jerusalem Christians concur heartily in the reception of the Gentiles, Cornelius and his friends, into Christian fellowship.

2. *Environment*.—Does the present section contribute any information on this subject?

3. *Institutions*.—Some of the Christians were exceedingly tenacious of their Jewish notions about the ceremonially clean and unclean, while perhaps the larger portion were inclined to liberality in the matter, though quite unwilling to abandon the system.

4. *Belief and teaching*.—Peter's simple presentation of the facts, supported by the testimony of his six Jewish-Christian companions from Joppa, persuaded the Christians of Jerusalem to recognize the Gentile converts, and at least for this one instance to admit the principle that Christianity was independent of Judaism.

5. *Daily life*.—The deliberative action and wise decision in the Cornelius matter were the forerunners of the great conference at Jerusalem ten years later.

6. *Divine guidance*.—The argument from experience is the great argument for any truth; God leads men through and by means of their experiences.

Literature.—The same as that cited under the previous section, which see.

SEC. 14. FIRST MENTION OF THE GENTILE-CHRISTIAN
COMMUNITY AT ANTIOCH (FOUNDED SOON
AFTER 33 A. D.).

Acts 11: 19-30. About 40-42 A. D. Antioch.

I. STUDY OF THE FACTS.

Let the following subclassification of the material in this section be verified, corrected, or improved:

Par. 1. 11: 19-21, The Beginning of the Gospel in Antioch.

Par. 2. 11: 22-26, Growth of the Church, Barnabas and Paul Leaders.

Par. 3. 11: 27-30, Antioch Christians Assist their Brethren in Judea.

Prepare a careful abstract of the facts recorded in this section.

II. TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION.

1. *Establishment of Christianity in Antioch*.—Does vs. 19 follow in time immediately upon the preceding section, so that the introduction

of Christianity into Antioch came in the year 40 or 41 A. D.; or, does vs. 19 connect chronologically with Acts 8:1, 4, so that the gospel missionaries reached Antioch very soon after the death of Stephen, therefore in 33 or 34 A. D.? Ascertain something about the city of Antioch at this time—its location, size, nationalities among its population, political relations, general religious condition. Observe two classes of gospel missionaries who reached Antioch—those who would present the gospel only to Jews, and those of Cyprus and Cyrene who preached to the Gentiles also. Consider carefully the variant reading in vs. 20, "Greeks," mg. rdg. "Grecian Jews," and show from the context how the text reading is the correct one. Why this difference of policy between the two classes of missionaries in Antioch? Which class had the greater success, and why? What was the importance of this step—the giving of the gospel to the Gentiles without requiring them to conform to Jewish rites and customs? How came these missionaries to take it—had they teaching to that effect from Jesus and Stephen, or had they any precedent for this action?

2. *The Antioch church and the Jerusalem church.*—How long after the introduction of the gospel into Antioch before word reached Jerusalem that a Gentile-Christian church was growing up there? Although the Christians of Antioch were mainly Gentiles, were there also Jews among them (*cf.* Gal. 2:11-13)? Why would the Jerusalem church be especially interested in the Antioch church? What was their purpose in sending to Antioch a delegate or representative (*cf.* Acts 8:14-17)? Why was Barnabas chosen for this mission (*cf.* Acts 4:36, 37; 9:27)? How did he find things in Antioch? Why was he so willing to recognize the legitimacy and success of the new practice of offering the gospel directly to the Gentiles, regardless of Judaism? Would the Jerusalem church as readily agree to the new movement? Why is no mention made of Barnabas' report to the Jerusalem church, and its action? Who was secured to assist in the work at Antioch? Why was he chosen? In what year was this? Where was Paul, and how engaged, at the time that he was called to work in the Antioch church? Had he had any previous relation to this church, anything to do with the founding of it? Was the Antioch church henceforth to be the center of and leader in the Gentile-Christian movement? What new name for the "disciples" grew up at Antioch? Did the name originate with the Gentiles rather than with the Jews or with the disciples themselves? Compare Acts 26:28; 1 Peter 4:16, the only other occurrences of the title "Christians" in the New Testament.

Was the new name a naturally formed one (compare "Herodians" to denote the followers of Herod) for distinguishing the disciples from other religious bodies?

3. *Prophets and elders among the primitive Christians.*—Is this the first mention (vs. 27) of prophets in the Acts? When did they arise? What particular service did they render (*cf.* Acts 2:17; 13:1; 15:32; 19:6; 21:10, 11; Rom. 12:6; 1 Cor. 12:28, 29; 13:2, 8; 14:22-40)? Was prediction of future events a part of their work; if so, to what extent? Why did prophets from Jerusalem go down to Antioch in 43 or 44 A. D.? Consider Agabus' prediction of the famine (*cf.* Acts 21:10, 11); what was the purpose of the prediction? Ascertain what you can about the famine which came a little later, perhaps in 45 or 46 A. D. Was the extent of the famine correctly stated in vs. 28 ("over all the world")? What did the disciples in Antioch do for their Jerusalem brethren? How could the Antioch Christians spare the relief which they sent to Judea? How was this assistance sent? Why were Barnabas and Paul the bearers of it? To whom in Jerusalem did they deliver it? Note that we have in vs. 30 the first mention of elders among the primitive Christians. What seems from this passage to have been their function as church officers? Were they the ruling officers in each church? Had each church one only, or several? When and how did the formal office of elder in the Christian organization arise? Was it perhaps after the dispersion of the Christians from Jerusalem, when there grew up Christian communities in many places, and there came the need for local governing officers? What authority had the elders? Was there at this time any other formal office among the Christians except that of deacons (Acts 6:1-6) and elders? Compare the Christian office of elder with the similar office in the Jewish synagogue.

III. OBSERVATIONS AND TEACHINGS.

1. *Organization.*—The prophets among the primitive Christians were a class of inspired teachers of the gospel, to whom the power of prediction was sometimes given; they were not formal church officers.—The formal office of elder in the organization of the Christian churches is incidentally mentioned; the elders were probably the ruling officers in the local communities of Christians, presumably several to each such community, and exercising an authority delegated by the local body of Christians of which they were the officers.

2. *Environment.*—Hellenistic Christians, soon after the dispersion

from Jerusalem, presented the gospel to the Gentiles in Antioch independently of Judaism, and their labors won large and significant success.

3. *Institutions.*—The title of Christians was about this time given by the Gentiles to the disciples of Christ, a simple distinguishing term constructed after the Roman manner of forming appellations.

4. *Belief and teaching.*—It was Hellenistic Christians, probably the followers of Stephen, who practically put into effect at Antioch the universal idea of the gospel, which made it a religion not only for Jews but equally for Gentiles without conformity to Judaism.

5. *Daily life.*—The Antioch disciples showed a true Christian spirit of brotherhood in sending relief to their Jerusalem brethren who were in distress because of the famine.

6. *Divine guidance.*—The courageous advance into the realization of the universal gospel was inspired, guided, and richly blessed by God.—It was only slowly, through many years, that Paul was being prepared for and started upon his great career as the missionary of the Gentiles.

Literature.—Upon this section see the commentaries on Acts, especially those of GLOAG, HACKETT, MEYER, and the CAMBRIDGE BIBLE. Also NEANDER, Planting and Training of the Christian Church, Vol. I, pp. 99–101; FARRAR, Life and Work of St. Paul, chap. 16; CONYBEARE AND HOWSON, Life and Epistles of St. Paul, chap. 4; STIFLER, Introduction to the Book of Acts, sec. x; RAMSAY, St. Paul the Traveler, pp. 48–51; WEIZSÄCKER, Apostolic Age of the Christian Church, Vol. I, pp. 104–108; BIBLE DICTIONARY, articles, Agabus, Antioch, Barnabas, Claudius, Cyprus, Cyrene, Elders, Phoenicia, Prophets.

SEC. 15. PERSECUTION OF THE JERUSALEM CHRISTIANS BY HEROD.

Acts 12:1–25. 44 A. D. Jerusalem.

I. STUDY OF THE FACTS.

Let the following subclassification of the material in this section be verified, corrected, or improved :

- Par. 1. 12:1, 2, Martyrdom of the Apostle James.
- Par. 2. 12:3–10, Frustrated Attempt to put Peter to Death.
- Par. 3. 12:11–17, Peter Withdraws for Safety from Jerusalem.
- Par. 4. 12:18–23, Herod's Self-Glorification and Death.
- Par. 5. 12:24, 25, Growth of the Gospel and Return of the Antioch Delegates.

Prepare a careful abstract of the facts recorded in this section.

II. TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION.

1. *The martyr death of James the apostle.*—The deeds and death of Herod recorded in Acts 12 took place in the year 44 A. D.; this date is fixed by Josephus, and is perhaps the most certain date in the Acts history. The famine mentioned in 11:27-30, and the consequent visit of Barnabas and Paul, could not have come until a year or two later, 45 or 46 A. D. Consider then that chap. 12 does not follow chronologically upon chap. 11, and that between vss. 23 and 25 of chap. 12 there intervenes one year or two. Which one of the Herods is this (vs. 1)? What was his relation to the Romans, to the Jews, and to the Christians? Why did he undertake this persecution of Christianity (*cf.* vs. 3)? Explain the fact that it is not now the Jewish religious leaders, but the Jewish civil ruler, who is the persecutor. Why did he choose James as his first victim? Which James was this—the apostle (Matt. 4:21), or the brother of Jesus (*cf.* vs. 17)? Do we know anything about him in the period between Jesus' ascension and his own martyrdom; if not, why not? Why does the martyr death of James receive such brief mention in Acts? On James' martyrdom compare Matt. 20:20-23. What was the effect of his death upon the Christians?

2. *The deliverance and withdrawal of Peter.*—Why was it at the Passover season (vss. 3, 4) that Herod began his persecution (*cf.* vs. 11, last clause)? Did he intend to put Peter also to death? State briefly the facts of Peter's imprisonment and providential deliverance. What was the nature and the amount of the miraculous involved in this? Why has so extended an account of this event been given? Was Peter's release in answer to the prayer of his fellow-Christians (vs. 5)? What was the feeling of the primitive Christians with reference to God's care and provision for them? State briefly what Peter did after his release. Why were the disciples gathered at Mary's house? What was Peter's message to them? Why did he leave Jerusalem? Compare with this his action at an earlier time, Acts 5:17-23. Compare Paul's action, Acts 9:23-25. Whither did Peter go from the city? How long was he absent, and what was he doing during his absence?

3. *Herod's self-glorification and death.*—Ascertain the main facts as to the number, the nationality, the business, and the characteristics of the people of Tyre and Sidon. What relations did they at this time sustain to Judea? Why was Herod displeased with them? How was their country dependent upon Palestine (*cf.* 1 Kings 5:1-12; Ezek.

27:16, 17)? Had Herod shown his displeasure by restricting their commerce with his own country? What was the mission of the embassy? On what occasion did Herod publicly receive the ambassadors from Tyre and Sidon? Did he probably decide the matter in their favor, since his own subjects were pleased, and they would not like their trade relations disturbed? Compare the account of this event given by Josephus (*Jewish Antiquities*, 19, 8, 2; also 18, 6-8), which supplements Luke's account. Observe that this matter of the Phoenician embassy is introduced into the Acts narrative to show Herod's inordinate passion for display and the praise of men (*cf.* vss. 21, 22). What is known as to the previous career and the character of Herod Agrippa I? Was this act of self-glorification in keeping with them? Consider the cause and the nature of the disease with which he was smitten. How soon did his death follow? Compare Josephus' account of his death (*Jewish Antiquities*, 8, 2). Is this miserable death of Herod to be looked upon as a divine judgment against him for his vanity and cruelty? Consider the death from a similar cause of Antiochus Epiphanes (2 Macc. 9:9), Herod the Great (Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities*, 17, 6, 5), Philip II, of Spain, and others (see Camb. Bible, *in loc.*)

4. *Condition of Christianity in 44 A. D.*—Observe that the Book of Acts is divided into two main sections, the first section closing with chap. 12. In this portion Peter has been the chief figure, Jerusalem the center, and Palestine mainly the field of Christianity. In the second section of Acts, from chap. 13 to the end, Paul will be the chief figure, Antioch the center, and the Gentile world the field of Christianity. After chap. 12 Peter does not again appear in the history except at the Jerusalem conference in chap. 15. It will be desirable, therefore, to note the condition of Christianity at this time. What was its territorial extent? Which were the great centers of Christian activity? Who were the prominent workers? What was the environment of the church at this time as to the Pharisees, Sadducees, common people, and civil power? How did Herod's persecution differ from former ones? What was the status of Christianity as to numbers and influence? What was the attitude and practice of the Christians at this time regarding the admission of Gentiles to Christianity?

III. OBSERVATIONS AND TEACHINGS.

1. *Organization.*—Does the present section contribute any information on this subject?

2. *Environment.*—Herod conducted this short but severe persecution of the Christians out of a desire to ingratiate himself with the Jews and with a spirit of sheer cruelty.

3. *Institutions.*—A meeting of Christians for special prayer for Peter, and presumably for themselves, was held at night for safety; such meetings afterward became common, for safety and for their special solemnity.

4. *Belief and teaching.*—The faithful, united prayer of Christ's disciples prepares the way for marked manifestations of God's presence and blessing.—Christian wisdom enjoins prudence and self-preservation except in special emergencies; the apostles repeatedly fled from danger which threatened them.

5. *Daily life.*—James the apostle seems to have been the first of the Twelve to die as a martyr.—Peter was miraculously delivered from a similar fate at the same time.

6. *Divine guidance.*—The deliverance of Peter is fully and vividly described as a testimony to God's care and provision for his children.—In spite of persecution Christianity was growing mightily in extension, influence, and numbers.

Literature.—Upon this section see the commentaries on Acts, especially those of GLOAG, HACKETT, MEYER, and the CAMBRIDGE BIBLE. Also NEANDER, Planting and Training of the Christian Church, Vol. I, pp. 101–105; FARRAR, Life and Work of St. Paul, chap. 17; CONYBEARE AND HOWSON, Life and Epistles of St. Paul, chap. 4; STIFLER, Introduction to the Book of Acts, sec. xi; BIBLE DICTIONARY, articles, Angels, Herod, James, Mark, Prison, Sidon, Tyre.

Comparative-Religion Notes.

THE "BARROWS LECTURES" IN INDIA.

[From a pamphlet written by the Rev. R. A. Hume, D.D., of India, the following extracts, describing the work of Dr. John Henry Barrows of The University of Chicago, will prove of interest to many readers.]

Two influential communities in India looked forward with deep interest and questioning to these Barrows-Haskell lectures, viz., the non-Christian religious reformers and the Christian missionaries. The former have been much influenced by the Lord Jesus Christ; they know that there has been some change among Western Christians in conceiving and stating the Christian faith, and they have thought and hoped that the Parliament of Religions meant and would more and more show that none of the present religions of the world is to become the final religion, but that each, with some modifications, is good enough for its adherents, and that the final, universal religion will be some mixture and outcome of them all. Such persons anticipated, with much hope, yet with some misgiving, the coming of Dr. Barrows.

Because the entire non-Christian community in India had so interpreted the Parliament of Religions, and because most missionaries in India have not had time to see what is to be the real outcome of that unique religious conference, many missionaries here looked forward with misgiving lest the Barrows-Haskell lectures would lead Indians to think that leaders of the West had somewhat lowered the Christian standard. But there were some missionaries who confidently expected a high and strong presentation of their faith.

When he landed in Bombay, accompanied by Mrs. Barrows, on December 15, 1896, he was very heartily welcomed by representatives of the Hindu, Jain, Parsi, Brahmo and Christian communities, partly through delegations and partly by letters. The Bombay Missionary Conference had arranged a large reception for him at Wilson College, where leaders of all communities were to meet him. But on account of the epidemic which is ravaging Bombay it was deemed best that he should hurry away from that city, and the reception was given up. He went first to Benares and spent five days in observations of Hindu-

ism in its capital. But his work began in Calcutta, the political and intellectual capital of India, where he stayed from December 23d to January 4th.

A noble reception, worthy of the hospitality of hospitable India and most honorable to the leader of Hindu Society in Calcutta, was given at the palace of the Maharajah Bahadur Sir Jotindra Mohun Tagore, K.C.S.I., by representatives of the Hindu, Mohammedan, Jain, Parsi, Buddhist, Brahmo and Christian communities. It was a unique and grand occasion, the exact parallel to which has never occurred, when, in an orthodox Hindu prince's palace, representatives of every faith met to give the heartiest welcome to a Christian lecturer from the West.

The six lectures on the Haskell foundation were delivered in the Hall of the General Assembly's Institution in the northern part of Calcutta, and half of them were also given in the London Mission's Institution in the southern quarter of the city. In addition, lectures, sermons, and addresses on such topics as "The Spiritual World of Shakespeare," "The Parliament of Religions," "Human Restlessness and Christ its Quieter," "The Comfort of Christian Theism," were delivered before associations of students and other bodies. Almost every morning there were personal interviews with representatives of various religions. Very cordial receptions were given to Dr. and Mrs. Barrows by the widow of Keshub Chandra Sen and her daughter the Maharani of Kuch Behar on the anniversary of Mr. Sen's last public service, by Mr. Mozoomdar, the present leader of the new dispensation, and by others.

After this Dr. Barrows visited Lucknow, where two lectures were delivered; Cawnpore, Delhi, where he spoke four times; Lahore, where five addresses were given; Amritsar; Agra, where he delivered five addresses; Jeypore, Ajmere, Indore, Ahmednagar; Poona, where he gave ten lectures and addresses; Bangalore, Vellore, and Madras. Up to the present time (February 18) Dr. Barrows has delivered eighty-five addresses in India and has thus reached many thousands of the educated people of the country.

The standpoint of the lectures is clearly indicated by their general title: "Christianity, the World-Religion." This thesis has been developed and maintained in a large and kindly way, by a masterly massing of facts, by forcible argument, and by a most sympathetic spirit toward all that is good in every faith. Some of those who were not present at the Parliament of Religions have been surprised at the strong, unhesitating utterances of Dr. Barrows in regard to the Christian faith

as sure to become the universal religion. But the series has been everywhere received with marked interest and attention. The following are examples of what has been said in various organs of different religious communities :

Unity and the Minister, the organ of the Church of the New Dispensation, said :

Dr. Barrows' presence here was imposing and enchanting, and gave an impetus to the mind of the thoughtful portion of his Christian and non-Christian hearers. . . . We knew he was a Christian of the orthodox school, and his recent lectures have not disappointed us, but increased our admiration for him. Our admiration for Dr. Barrows was the greater, because, being a Christian of what may be called the orthodox school, his heart was so liberal, so world-embracing, so many-sided.

The Indian Christian Herald, the organ of the Bengali Christians, said :

The gospel lectures found among their hearers men of light and leading, Hindu, Brahmo, and Parsee, who had never before listened to a distinctive, evangelical appeal. Nay, some of them were delivered under the acquiescing presidency of Brahmo and Hindu representatives, while all elicited, from non-Christians and Christians alike, repeated plaudits of approval. We are firmly persuaded that Dr. Barrows has been used of God to draw out, and make patent, some of the invisible trophies of missions, and that the outlook is bound to be an enthusiastic revival of the missionary spirit in the Homes of Missions. He had taken his stand on the same exangelical foundations which are exhibited in the apostolic commission of the missionaries. Dr. Barrows has illustrated, further, that, while the recognition of truth, wherever it was found, was an imperative obligation on the part of every true man, such recognition, properly viewed, was a source of strength rather than of weakness to Christianity.

The Indian Witness of Calcutta said :

We very much doubt whether India has ever been favored with so worthy a presentation of the Christian faith. . . . The lectures are a magnificent contribution to the Christian evidences, well worthy of a permanent place in literature. Many competent critics have pronounced the lecture on the Universal Book the finest presentation of the incomparable place in the world's life and literature of the Christian Scriptures which they have read or heard.

The Hindu of Madras, one of the ablest of the non-Christian journals of India, said :

Dr. Barrows is certainly to be congratulated on the impression he has produced as a lecturer. There is an unanimous feeling that he possesses

great powers of exposition, and a thorough knowledge of his subject. More than all, he has evidently a great love for the people of this country and some appreciation for their good qualities, and especially for their intellectual keenness and aptitude for metaphysical controversy.

But no reference to the lectures has been more honorable to India than the noble sentiment of the *Indian Social Reformer*, the courageous organ of the reformers in Madras. Differing from Dr. Barrows in standpoint and in belief, this paper spoke the following true words about the lecturer's utterances :

It has, we see, been made a point against Dr. Barrows that he claims a position for Christianity superior to that of any other religion. We are, of course, not prepared to concede that claim. But we never expected that Dr. Barrows would condescend to waive that claim for his own faith, and if he had done so, we, for one, should not have very much cared to listen to what he has to say.

And we regard as the outcome of sheer intellectual indolence and pusillanimity, the opinion which is fashionable nowadays that one conviction, one faith, is as good as another. We regard this easygoing fashion of mind as fraught with the greatest danger to the future of this country. For it means isolation ; it spells death. The vice, wherever and in whatever form it prevails, is the child of pure selfishness.

The religion of the future will no doubt have affinities with each of the existing religions, just as the human race has affinities with the anthropoid apes. We, therefore, welcome Dr. Barrows' statement of the claims of his faith. If they are exaggerated or imaginary, they will go to the wall of their own accord. If they are real, on the other hand, it may so happen that some courageous souls that have been seeking the light and not found it, may be impressed with them and may be led to transform themselves into the receptacles of a greatness such as an exalted religious idea alone can bestow. We invite our friends to give their unbiased hearing to Dr. Barrows. To be afraid of being converted to his views is cowardice. No man who is afraid of having to relinquish his prepossessions need call himself a religious man or a lover of truth. His proper place is in the vegetable kingdom, where to be uprooted is to perish. The human vegetable is the most despicable of human things.

The following statement corroborates the words of Dr. Hume as to the effect of Dr. Barrows' lectures :

At a meeting of the Calcutta Missionary Conference, held the eighth day of February, 1897, it was resolved to record the following deliverance in regard to the first series of the "Barrows Lectures," and to send a copy of the same to Dr Barrows and to Mrs. Caroline E. Haskell :

The Conference desire to put on record their sense of the very great service Dr. Barrows has rendered to the cause of Christianity in India by the six lectures on Mrs. Haskell's foundation which he delivered in Calcutta on the Universality of the Christian Religion. They were distinguished by their high-toned earnestness, their incisive force, their brave and unambiguous outspokenness, their thorough grasp of the great truths they handled, their practical value as a contribution to Christian apologetics, their profound learning and sweet persuasiveness. In them, the inaugurating series of the lectureship, were fulfilled the promises made at its inception. They were distinguished by the scholarly and withal friendly, temperate, and conciliatory manner in which opponents of Christianity were referred to, and by the fraternal spirit which animated all allusions to the devotees of other religions. While the rightful claims of Christianity were set forth without compromise or hesitation, they were at the same time set forth in such a way as to secure the favorable interest of the many who would not acknowledge these claims. The Conference were also struck by the untiring activity which Dr. Barrows manifested during his short stay of fourteen days in Calcutta. For during that period he addressed as many as twenty-two audiences in the same earnest forceful manner, never sparing himself, or in any way compromising his position as a Christian lecturer desirous of winning souls for the Lord Jesus. Dr. and Mrs. Barrows carry with them wherever they go the best wishes and the prayers of the members of the Calcutta Missionary Conference.

The Conference desire to place also on record their hope that the six "Barrows Lectures" be printed in a cheap form and widely circulated in single lectures and also as a book containing all six; and that those which are to follow on the foundation may be of the same type and equally useful to the missionary cause.

In expressing their high appreciation of Dr. Barrows as a Christian lecturer, the Conference would not forget their obligations to the good Christian lady, Mrs. Caroline E. Haskell, who so liberally founded the Barrows lectures, and to the members of The University of Chicago who secured Dr. John Henry Barrows to inaugurate the lectureship. The Conference send their greetings to Mrs. Haskell, and wish her a long, useful, and happy life in the Lord's service on earth, and that thus be richly supplied unto her the entrance into the eternal kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

[Extract from the Records of the Calcutta Missionary Conference by the Joint Secretaries, K. S. Macdonald, D.D., Free Church of Scotland; G. H. Parsons, Church Missionary Society.]

Exploration and Discovery.

THE EGYPTIAN RESEARCH ACCOUNT AT EL KAB.

THE following, just received from Mr. J. E. Quibell, who is working with Petrie's "Research Account" at El Kab, sets forth briefly the success of his excavations at this place. A photograph and some account of the ancient city the reader will find in the BIBLICAL WORLD of last March (see frontispiece). The walls referred to by Mr. Quibell are those seen in the distance, and the rare old empire statues which he has discovered were in mastaba tombs located in the shadow of the walls as seen in the view. The cemetery is at the beholder's feet, in the plain between him and the city wall.

The letter is dated March 20, 1897, El Kab, Bassilieh, Upper Egypt:

I sit down at the end of a rather weary day to give you some idea of how we stand. The day has been the best of the season, for we have come on a serdab containing two statues of a certain Nefershemem, who was probably of the time of Snefru. I say this because the mastaba is one of a small group concealed by the sand heap at the north of the great wall, and in one of them, just east of the statues, was a diorite bowl with Snefru's Ka name, and in another close by to the south we got yesterday a fragment of another diorite with the name Snefru roughly scratched upon it. So the whole group is probably of that period. One of the statues is in limestone, seated, complete, rather good work; the other is a standing figure in sandstone, of still better work, but headless. However, so rare is old empire statuary and so important, as you know so well, that the discovery very much alters for the better the whole harvest of the year.

Most of our work has been in the middle empire cemetery east of the town. You will remember the mounds and depressions which point out the place clearly.

Of these wells I have turned out about 150. Each leads into two chambers, one north, one south, and in these the bodies are laid, with head to the north and in the regular Egyptian position, but with no sign of mummification. I must have a talk with all the excavators I can meet as to early mummies. I have found *none* in either the Old or Middle Kingdom. Was it only an upper-clan luxury until the XVIIIth?

With these burials I've got a large selection of pots, a good lot of ame-

thysts and carnelian beads, *Kohl*-pots, paint-slabs, and mirrors, but no scrap of papyrus or wood, and no inscriptions to speak of. I have not finished the cemetery—too expensive along with other things I have to do. For the earliest cemetery here is the best.

To the north of the great wall, under the sand, are some mastabas of the time of Snefru, and inside the inclosure the mastabas continue, and with them small graves of the type Petrie has called Libyan and De Morgan Neolithic.

Besides the mastabas there are also "stairway" graves of the type I found at Ballas. All had been quite looted save one in which I got some gold and carnelian beads and two small gold nuggets! These must, by the pottery found with them, be attributed to the old empire, and form the *earliest jewelry found in Egypt*.

The burials in large pots of coarse earthenware such as were found at Ballas, and also, it is said, at Gizeh, occur also here. They too are of the old kingdom and must surely belong to a separate strain in the population. With one such burial I got a copper or bronze cylinder of Userkaf.

Do you remember a class of cylinders very thick compared with their length, inscribed with rough characters apparently not hieroglyphs? There are a lot of them at University College in London, for one place.

Do you remember, too, the little dolls, about six inches long, made in a yellowish ware and representing in a very rude style women, sometimes with babies on their backs?

Both of these classes of objects, I have now, I think, fixed to the Old Kingdom.

You will see we have not had bad luck. I fear Gizeh will take most of our prizes; but more than one little problem has been simply solved. The walls have disappointed me; I have not fixed their date. The interior of El Kab was never inhabited apparently, so we cannot get pottery near the walls. It is useless to attempt to tunnel beneath them. The gates have yielded no foundation deposit.

In the large temple I have not done much; merely tried for foundation deposits. They are of Amenhotep II.

I hope I will get off another epistle to you before long. This is a bad time for writing. In less than a fortnight I must be away. Yours sincerely,

J. E. QUIBELL.

REORGANIZATION OF THE EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND IN AMERICA.

THE following action of the London Committee of the E. E. F. will show how timely has been the organization of the Chicago Society of Egyptian Research which is now one of the "independent organi-

zations" recognized in the first of the resolutions appended below. The accompanying admirable open letter of Mr. Petrie explains the practical possibilities of such independent societies all working in unison for the "Fund." We let his noble appeal speak for itself.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE LONDON COMMITTEE OF THE EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND, 6 APRIL, 1897.

1. That it is desirable to recognize independent organizations in America and to agree to such organizations having direct relations to the London Committee.

2. That an organization which shall have contributed on an average not less than \$750 per annum may, if desiring it, have a voice and a vote on the London Committee.

The representative will be coöpted by the London Committee on presenting his credentials; he will be changeable at pleasure of the nominating organization, and will be appointed without limitation of nationality or of existing relation to the E. E. F.

3. That each contributory organization (whether taking advantage of clause 2 or not) shall supply a statement of the number of its actual subscribers each year when remitting funds, shall receive a corresponding number of all publications of works issued to subscribers for the time being (but not exceeding one copy for each \$5 received in London) and shall be responsible for the distribution of such publications. These conditions concerning publications of the Exploration Fund will equally apply to the separate work of the Archaeological Survey. And each organization shall agree to place in public museums such antiquities as may be allotted to it in an equitable distribution.

AN OPEN LETTER FROM PROFESSOR PETRIE.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON, W. C.

12 April, 1897.

MY DEAR FRIEND:—As I have been asked to say something definite regarding the middleman organizations between subscribers and excavators, I would place before you the following points, speaking from my own personal view.

As all of these organizations exist only to get the best results from a given expenditure in Egypt, we must look to the Egyptian side first.

The great advantages gained by pooling the work and proceeds of several excavations together, are sometimes forgotten.

1. The mass of duplicates that are generally found can be divided between several places, thus relieving any one place from an incubus of material.

2. There are much fewer chances of a blank year, and of losing interest and support.

3. A far more varied and representative collection is secured by each place.
4. The fixed costs are wider spread, duplication of work is avoided, and the cost of administration is reduced.
5. There is not the danger of separate interests causing trouble.
6. The great danger is avoided of isolated centers sending out untrained men who might wreck sites, destroy information, and spoil the workmen by injudicious expenditure. A continuity of method, and the benefit of past experiences (often dearly bought) are secured to those who enter on work in unison with the present workers.

I therefore, in the interest of exploration, wish to see maintained as wide a circle of support and of work as can be kept together.

From this point, remembering gratefully the help that I have so often found from America, I wish while continuing to work for American interests, to yet avoid separating them from English support.

The difficulties that have arisen from opposing and isolated views seem to point to the inconvenience of framing a single American organization at present. And hence it seems that the most likely mode of union, for the common benefits that I have named above, is by a body of wide and general representation sitting in England.

Such a representative committee is, I am happy to find, equally the wish of most persons here. And as the present London Committee of the Egypt Exploration Fund is renewed by coöption, there is no legal difficulty in its at once accepting the American representatives. Thus will be formed the basis for the united organization which is required at this time, aiming at an equal representation of English and American supporters.

The actual propositions for this new settlement are now laid before you by the present London Committee, and I earnestly hope that they will meet with your views, and that each American organization will feel the assurance that it is kept informed by its representative of important business, that its wishes as to the general character of the work have full weight, and that in the matter of antiquities its needs are fairly and suitably recognized.

Of course an organization may be of any independent form, title, or limitations, that may seem best on the spot, and it is not pledged to any sole cause for its exertions.

You will observe that wide liberty of action in connection with the representative committee is proposed in this resettlement. If any American center wishes to employ any scholar connected with it, this can be done without losing representation, either by his working with us for the E. E. F. for a time, or by American funds being directly diverted to him, provided that the annual average already contributed to the E. E. F. shall not fall below \$750. The advantages, however, of pooling work and results with other places I have already pointed out.

Regarding representatives, they may be visitors from the States who may be staying in London for any length of time, or permanent residents, or

officials here from the States; or, if none such be available, they can be Englishmen or foreigners, men or women.

The aim has been to overcome the difficulties which necessarily exist, and to try to make such representation as real and effective as possible. A man who will actively attend, with real knowledge of the work and practical interest, would be far more welcome here than a man too big and too busy to look after matters.

Each center is also left quite independent by this arrangement: it can collect and distribute money as it chooses in any way, but will be duly represented on the joint committee if it maintains anything over a certain *minimum* of contribution to the work of the committee.

Regarding the Egyptian Research Account, that was originally framed simply as a student fund to help students in connection with my university college work. Such a character I wish it to maintain, but its future may be open to modification.

The present proposals which will, I hope, prove acceptable are then:

That my own excavations continue to be in the interests of America as well as of England, my work being for a joint committee equally representative of America and of England. And my fellow-workers being, as I hope, both from England and from the States.

This resettlement will continue under the form of the Egypt Exploration Fund. And:

That the Egyptian Research Account will be administered by myself in consultation with its treasurer and any large donors, but, as before, in no case used for my excavations. If I should ever personally work with its money I should necessarily give up administering it. I desire that it shall be a student fund, as an auxiliary to my own work, so as to give scope and training to students under my guidance. All antiquities discovered by its work will of course be distributed to museums in accordance with the support rendered to it. The practical disadvantages of its being separate from the E. E. F. are but small, as duplicates can be exchanged between the two before distribution, and in its present form it has no costs of management.

I have now endeavored to do my best for the interests of excavation in view of the present personal questions. Let me hope that when so important an end is in view,—when the greatest freedom of action possible in any union is proposed,—when the freest voice in all conclusions is welcomed,—and when the greatest advantages to all accrue from their united action,—we may without further differences be able to give our whole will to advancing the solid gain of knowledge, which has so greatly changed our conceptions in even the last few years, and which will make other generations on both sides of the Atlantic look on the world with very different insight to that of our own broken vision.

Believe me to be your very sincere friend,

W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.

Notes and Opinions.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF EVENTS AND LITERATURE CONNECTED WITH CHRISTIANITY IN THE FIRST AND SECOND CENTURIES A. D.

By PROFESSOR ADOLF HARNACK.¹

A. D.

- 30, probably, the conversion of Paul.
37, March 16, death of the Emperor Tiberius.
37, March 18, Gaius (Caligula), Emperor until 41, January 24.
41, January, Claudius, Emperor until 54, October.
41, Herod, King of Judea and Jerusalem.
42 (41), the Twelve leave Jerusalem.
44, death of Herod.
47 (46), the so-called Apostolic Council in Jerusalem.
47–50 (46–49), the so-called Second Missionary Journey of Paul.
48 / 49 (47 / 48), the Thessalonian Epistles. If the Edict of Claudius against the Jews surely belongs to the ninth year of his reign, then Paul arrived in Corinth at the earliest in 49.
50 Winter—53 Autumn (49–52), Paul in Ephesus.
53 (52), First Epistle to the Corinthians. (Epistle to the Galatians?)
50 (51), Felix, Procurator in Judea.
53 Early Autumn (52), Second Epistle to the Corinthians.
53 / 54 (52 / 53) sojourn of Paul in Corinth. Epistle to the Romans.
54 (53), Paul arrested in Jerusalem.
54, October, Nero, Emperor until 68, June 9.
54–56 (53–55), Paul imprisoned in Cæsarea.
Between October 55 and 56, Festus becomes Procurator in Judea.
56 / 57 (55 / 56), the removal of Paul to Rome.
57–59 (56–58), the imprisonment of Paul in Rome. Epistles to the Colossians, Philemon, Ephesians (if it is authentic), and Philippians (it is possible to regard the first three as written in Cæsarea).

¹ From PROFESSOR HARNACK'S recent work entitled *Die Chronologie der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius*. Erster Band: "Die Chronologie der Litteratur bis Irenaeus, nebst einleitenden Untersuchungen," Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1897, M. 25.

- 59 (58), Paul's release from the Roman imprisonment.
- 59–64, the genuine writings of Paul underlying the Pastoral Epistles.
- 60 / 61 (61 / 62), death of James in Jerusalem.
- 61, Albinus, Procurator in Judea.
- 64, July 19, burning of Rome; persecution of the Christians at Rome; death of Peter and Paul.
- 66–73, the Jewish war against Rome.
- 68, June 9, death of Nero; succession of Galba and Vitellius.
- 69, January 15, death of Galba; succession of Otho.
- 69, April 15, death of Otho.
- 69, July 1, Vespasian, Emperor until 79, June 23.
- 69, December, death of Vitellius.
- 69, Polycarp born.
- 65–70, probably, the Gospel of Mark.
- 70, August, the capture of Jerusalem, the destruction of the temple.
- 70–75, probably, the Gospel according to Matthew (except some later additions).
- 79, June 23, Titus, Emperor until 81, September 13.
- 81, September 13, Domitian, Emperor until 96, September 18.
- Under Domitian, but perhaps one or two decades earlier, the First Epistle of Peter.
- Under Domitian, but perhaps even earlier, the Epistle to the Hebrews.
- c. 78–93, the Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles of Luke.
- 65 (70)–100 (probably at the beginning of this time), the Gospel of the Hebrews (very soon a Greek translation).
- c. 90–110, the Pastoral Epistles (but they received additions still later).
- 93–96, the Apocalypse of John.
- 93–95 (96 / 97 ?) the First Epistle of Clement.
- 96, September, Nerva, Emperor until 98, January 27.
- 98, January 27, Trajan, Emperor until 117, August.
- In Trajan's time, if not earlier, at any rate not later than about 130, the Gospel of the Egyptians.
- Not after c. 110 and not before c. 80 the Presbyter John, the Gospel of John, and the three Epistles of John. Soon after that the unauthentic ending of Mark's Gospel (Aristion) and the bringing together of the four Gospels in Asia.
- Under Trajan died the daughters of Philip.
- Under Trajan died Simeon, Bishop of Jerusalem, in the time of the Syrian Legate Atticus (who was probably the same as Sextus Attius Suburanus, who was Consul in the year 104).

Probably toward the end of Trajan's reign Ignatius of Antioch died in Rome (110–117; perhaps, though not probably, not till a few years later); shortly before this the seven Epistles of Ignatius and the Epistle of Polycarp were written.

111 (Sept.)–113 (beginning), the Letter of Pliny to Trajan concerning the Christians.

115–117, the Annals of Tacitus.

c. 100–130, the Epistle of Jude.

c. 100–130 (140), the Preaching of Peter.

c. 110 (100)–130, the Gospel of Peter.

117, August 11, Hadrian, Emperor until 138, July 10.

In Hadrian's time probably the prophetess Ammia and the prophet Quadratus.

120, Suetonius' Concerning the Lives of the Cæsars.

c. 120–140 (130), the Epistle of James.

c. 120–140 (110–160), the Apocalypse of Peter.

c. 120–170, the Acts of Paul.

124/125, probably, Hadrian's Letter to Minicius concerning the Christians.

125/126, Quadratus' Apology (the date, however, is not sure).

c. 125, Polycrates of Ephesus born.

c. 125–130, Florinus born.

130, Hadrian gives the order for the building of Ælia.

130/131, the Epistle of Barnabas.

132–135, the Rebellion led by Bar Cochba.

c. 133, Justin becomes a Christian (the date, however, is not sure); about 135 he was in Ephesus.

134, Hadrian's Letter to Servian (Servian's third Consulate) concerning the Christians.

133/134, or at least about this time, the appearance of the heretic Basilides in Alexandria; about this time, or somewhat earlier, Saturnilus in Antioch.

136–140, Valentinus and Cerdö came to Rome.

135/136, Marcus, the first Gentile-Christian Bishop at Ælia (Jerusalem).

131–c. 160, the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, in the recension of the Jerusalem manuscript.

c. 135–c. 160, the active period of the heretic Valentinus (chiefly in Rome).

138, July 10, Antoninus Pius, Emperor until 161, March 7.

138/139, Marcion arrives in Rome and becomes a member of the church there.

About 140, the Shepherd of Hermas in its present form; a part of the work is of earlier date (perhaps 20–25 years earlier).

138–161 (perhaps 138–147) the Apology of Aristides.

About 140, perhaps, the Dialogue of Aristo of Pella (the time of its composition can be determined only as lying within the limits 135–170).

141/142, Justin appears as a Teacher.

Not long before 142 (hardly as early as 135) Irenæus born.

Not before 144 and until c. 160 Urbicus Prefect of the City.

144, Marcion founds a separate church (influenced by the Syrian Cerdo who was living in Rome).

c. 145–160, Papias writes his Expositions of the Oracles of the Lord.

c. 145–185, Ptolemäus, Heracleon and others, the pupils of Valentinus; also the Gnostic Marcus.

147 (before March 17) M. Aurelius receives the tribunician power.

c. 140–150, the Roman Baptismal Symbol probably arose.

c. 140–180, Sources of the Egyptian so-called Apostolic Constitutions.

Soon after 150 (perhaps 152–153) Justin's Apology (previously the *Syntagma*); a little later probably Tatian's Address. About this time the heretical communities were in the most flourishing condition.

c. 150, Primus, Bishop of Corinth.

c. 150, Hegesippus makes his journey into the West and to Rome.

154/155, Statius Quadratus, Proconsul in Asia.

154 (at the latest), Polycarp's journey to Rome, where Anicetus is already Bishop, until 166 (or 165, 167).

154, July 11, Bardesanes born (died 222).

155, February 23, Polycarp's death; soon thereafter the Letter of the Church of Smyrna concerning his death.

Between 155 and 160 Justin's Dialogue with Trypho.

Under Anicetus the Carpocratian Marcellina comes to Rome; at that time the sect flourished in which Epiphanes, the son of Carpocrates, also made himself noted.

After the middle of the second century the "superior" of Irenæus, the Presbyter, who composed poems against the Marcosians, and the Presbyter who wrote against Marcion's treatment of the Old Testament.

157 (156), Montanus appears under the Proconsulate of Gratus in Phrygia; Maximilla and Priscilla join him; after some Synods and several years they are excommunicated (Theodotus, the Patron of the Montanist sect). Sotas of Anchialus against Priscilla.

Between 157 and 162 Julianus Proconsul in Asia.

In the second half of the reign of Pius, or under M. Aurelius, Isidorus son of Basilides.

161, March 7, Marcus Aurelius, Emperor until 180, March 17.

Between 161 and 169, probably, the Apology of Miltiades, and probably about this time also his polemic against Montanism; not before c. 160 and hardly after c. 170 the Acts of Paul and Thecla; about the same time the martyrdom of Carpus, Papylus, and Agathonice.

165 / 166, Quadratus, Proconsul in Asia.

163–167 (perhaps 165), Justin died a martyr under the City Prefect Junius Rusticus.

165, Peregrinus Proteus destroys himself by fire at Olympia.

166 (165, 167), Soter, Roman Bishop until 174 (173, 175); he sends the so-called Second Epistle of Clement to Corinth.

166, October 12, Commodus designated Cæsar.

In the time of Marcus Aurelius the heretic Apelles (his writings hardly before c. 170, his controversy with Rhodo still later).

166 / 167 or 167 / 168 (before 162?), Sergius Paulus Proconsul in Asia. Under him the martyr death of Bishop Sagaris of Laodicea (before him Thraseas, Bishop of Eumenea); Melito of Sardis writes a work concerning the Passover, likewise probably about this time Apollinaris of Hierapolis. In the sixties probably arise in Asia the Alogi against the new prophecy.

c. 160 (150?)–c. 175, the second Epistle of Peter.

c. 150–180 (Justin?) Concerning the Resurrection.

169, January, Death of the Emperor L. Verus, M. Aurelius is Emperor alone.

About 170, Dionysius of Corinth writes numerous Letters; about this time also the death of Puplius, Bishop of Athens; Quadratus succeeded him there.

169–176 (177), Melito writes his Apology (or was it 177–180?).

About 170 (168?) Bardesanes appears.

172, probably, Apollinaris writes his Apology and afterward *Grammata* against the new prophecy.

172, Tatian's rupture with the Church; he goes to Syria; afterward his Diatessaron (if it had not already appeared between 160 and 170). About this time also Cassianus.

In the seventies Æmilius Frontinus was Proconsul in Asia.

Somewhere about the middle of the seventies Montanus died; soon thereafter an unsuccessful action of the Catholic Bishops against Maximilla; Themison, Alexander, Alcibiades play a part in the Montanistic sect. Capture of all the churches in Phrygia and Asia. Montanistic martyrs.

174 (173, 175), Eleutherus, Roman Bishop until 189 (or 188, 190).

In the time of Eleutherus Hegesippus wrote his Memoirs.

176 (end), Commodus Emperor with his father.

176/7-180, Celsus' writing against the Christians.

177-180 (very likely 177), the Supplication of Athenagoras.

177/8, persecution in Gaul; death of the Bishop Pothinus in Lyons.

178/9, the Gallic Letters and the mission of Irenæus to Rome.

179, the death of Maximilla.

About 180, the death of Apollinaris and Melito.

180, March 17, Commodus Emperor alone until 192, December 31.

Probably under Commodus, Rhodo, disciple of Tatian; he may have already made his appearance some years earlier.

180, July 17, the Scillitan martyrs.

Between 180 and 185 the martyrdom of Apollonius in Rome under the Prætorian Prefect Perennius.

181/2, not before March, dies Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch; for the books to Autolycus were not written earlier (one can come down almost to the end of the year 190 with the composition).

Between 181 and 189 Irenæus writes his great work; about this time Modestus and Musanus.

188/9, Demetrius, Bishop of Alexandria, until 231 (232).

189 (188, 190), Victor, Bishop of Rome until 198 (199).

c. 190, Narcissus, Bishop of Jerusalem (212/3 he selects Alexander as co-regent).

190/1, March, the death of Maximinus, Bishop of Antioch.

190/1, March, Serapion, Bishop of Antioch, rules until 211/2.

About 190, Bacchylus, Bishop in Corinth.

190/1, the great Paschal Controversy; Letters of Victor of Rome; about this time the falling away and excommunication of the Presbyter Florinus in Rome. Blastus.

192 (193), the anonymous anti-Montanist writes his work.

- c. 190 (180)–c. 200, probably the false correspondence of Paul with the Corinthians.
- 193, January 1–March 28, Pertinax, Emperor to Rome.
- 193, Septimius Severus, Emperor of Rome until 211, February 4.
- 197 (196), Apollonius (of Ephesus?) writes against Montanism. About this same time or somewhat later Serapion of Antioch also writes against it.
- c. 180–c. 210, the heretic Hermogenes.

- [c. 180–240, the Pseudo-Justinian Address to the Greeks; at the same time or still later the Epistle to Diognetus.]
- [Before c. 180 the gnostic Gospel of Thomas, but the infancy histories preserved to us under the name of a Thomas are later.]
- [In the second century or in the beginning of the third century the gnostic Gospel of Philip.]
- [In the second half of the second century or in the beginning of the third century the gnostic Acts of Thomas.]
- [Under Caracalla or Elagabalus the Pseudo-Melito Syrian Apology.]
- [At all events before Origen, perhaps even before Irenæus, the great Christian redaction of the Jewish Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs; the *terminus a quo* of this redaction lies after the middle of the second century.]
- [Probably in the second century the Ascension of Isaiah added to the Jewish Martyrdom of Isaiah, but not yet the Apocalyptic Vision.]
- [Before Clement of Alexandria the Traditions of Matthias.]
- [Before Origen, or perhaps before Hippolytus, the heretical Gospel of Matthias.]
- [Hardly before 180, but also not later than the beginning of the third century, the Ebionite Gospel.]
- [In the second century the Pseudo-Pauline Letter to the Alexandrians; the Latin Epistle to Laodicea is perhaps from the second half of the second century.]
- [Most probably about the middle of the third century, the Acts of Peter.]
- [The Christian Sibylline Oracles belong most probably to the last third of the third century.]
- [The Protevangelium of James gained its present form after Origen and before the middle of the fourth century; the section concerning the birth of Jesus (Joseph Apocryphum) belongs perhaps to the second century, the section concerning the girlhood of Mary (the chief section of the book) may have arisen shortly before Origen; the Zacharias section gained its present form some time after Origen.]
- [The Christian Acts of Pilate did not exist in the second century.]

Work and Workers.

REV. H. C. G. MOULE has just issued, through the Cambridge University Press, *The Epistle to the Philippians*, in the series of Cambridge Greek Testament for Schools.

THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY held its annual meeting in Baltimore, Md., April 22-24, 1897. A report of it will appear in the next number of the BIBLICAL WORLD.

PROFESSOR J. M. STIFLER, D.D., of Crozer Theological Seminary, has given us the fruits of a study of Romans in a handy commentary, or rather a running discussion of the themes of the book.

PROFESSOR AUGUST KÖHLER of the University of Erlangen, who has recently completed a history of Israel in Old Testament on strictly conservative lines, died February 17 in the sixty-second year of his age.

PROFESSOR ALLAN MENZIES, D.D., has just edited *Recently Discovered Manuscripts and Origen's Commentaries on Matthew and John*. It is an additional volume to the Ante-Nicene Christian Library and is published by Messrs. T. & T. Clark.

PROFESSOR JOHN R. SAMPEY, D.D., has gone on a six-months' tour through Bible lands. His wide-awake method of observation will greatly enrich his store of biblical and particularly Palestinian lore, with which to enforce his class-room and printed instruction.

DR. C. R. BLACKALL, of the American Baptist Publication Society, left on March 27 at the head of a party of tourists for Egypt and the Holy Land. The company expects to visit some of the special points of interest, archæological, historical, and martial, of Asia Minor and Europe, on their return trip.

THE NOTE upon page 225 of the March BIBLICAL WORLD concerning Professor H. H. Harris should have said that he was professor of Greek at Richmond College, not at the University of Virginia. In addition to the statement that he was called to Louisville after Dr. Broadus' death, it may be said that he served there but two sessions.

REV. ANDREW WOOD'S *Hebrew Monarchy* falls under the machete of the *Academy* staff (February 13). It is charged with being "belated," and with ignoring the advanced school of criticism, and even of not regarding the conclusions of Professor Sayce.

PROFESSOR HENRY DRUMMOND died at Tunbridge Wells, England, on March 11. His health had been giving way for the past year and a half. In several respects he has been a notable figure in religious and scientific life. His education was secured under the most favorable conditions. At Edinburgh University he was trained in scientific work, particularly geology, by Professor Geikie, and would probably have obtained the degree of Doctor of Science had not Mr. Moody engaged his attention in evangelistic work. For two years, 1873-1875, he accompanied Mr. Moody and Mr. Sankey in their meetings held through England, Scotland, and Ireland. His addresses were delivered to immense audiences, and he won multitudes of friends by his kindly manner and Christian spirit. After Mr. Moody returned to America in 1876, Mr. Drummond was appointed, largely through the influence of Professor Geikie, to the chair of natural science at Glasgow Free Church College. Though he had completed a theological course at Free Church and was ordained, he held the chair of science at Glasgow until his death.

Professor Drummond is known to the religious world mainly through his small books, *The Greatest Thing in the World*, which has reached a circulation in Great Britain of 330,000; *Pax Vobiscum*, of 130,000; *The Changed Life*, of 89,000; *The Programme of Christianity*, of 80,000; *The City without a Church*, of 60,000. To the scientific and religious world he contributed *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, the manuscript of which was refused acceptance by two leading publishers of London, and was finally rescued from its pigeonhole only at the suggestion of a friend of the author. *The Ascent of Man*, his last work, was a course of lectures delivered before Lowell Institute and before The University of Chicago about two years ago.

The Academy says: "Professor Drummond will be remembered not so much as the man who tried to reconcile science and theology, but as the greatest leader of young men the century has seen. He was a young man himself, keenly interested in all the movements of the day; and in his small books he preached the gospel of a wider, larger, more joyful humanity, a gospel which will always appeal to young men. His books have been translated into nearly every European language, and his influence for good has been world-wide."

Book Reviews.

A History of the Hebrew People. By CHARLES FOSTER KENT, Ph.D. With maps and charts. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1897. Two vols., pp. 220, 218. Price \$2.50.

To write a history of Israel in the present state of affairs in the field of biblical criticism is a somewhat hazardous undertaking. One must take a distinct position with respect to certain fundamental questions if his work is to have unity and clearness, not to speak of usefulness; but to take such a position compels one to speak somewhat too definitely upon points which are not yet satisfactorily settled. Hence every such book as this before us must be to a certain extent provisional.

There are, however, certain things which may be regarded as settled, and which, therefore, must be found in any such history if it is to be adequate to the demands of the present day. Such requisites are the acceptance of the composite character of the Hebrew historical literature, the recognition of different points of view on the part of the different writers with all that that involves, and, what is more important, a firm grasp upon the unique element in the life of this people. Professor Kent's book is thoroughly satisfactory in all these important respects. Upon the latter he declares himself most strongly. "Hebrew history," he says, "is unique because of the presence and work of its inspired teachers. They molded its life, interpreted the true significance of its events, and proclaimed the nature, will, and purposes of the Eternal Father, who found in them his willing messengers, and who in turn revealed himself to them as to none of their contemporaries."

In critical matters the book occupies a point of view only moderately advanced. A touchstone on this point is always afforded by a writer's attitude toward the Books of Chronicles. Professor Kent is inclined to use this material, though insisting that it must be carefully weighed; for example, he accepts what the chronicler states about the reign of Uzziah. At the same time he makes no reference in his discussion of the reign of Manasseh to that king's captivity and consequent reformation.

In the discussion of details, or in the presentation of general

views, the work does not offer anything particularly new or striking. Probably Professor Kent himself would be the first to assert that it was not his purpose to furnish an original contribution to the subject, but rather to gather up and present in a compact and readable way the results of half a century or more of research in these fields. If this is his purpose he has succeeded admirably. His style is clear, simple, and vivid. He holds his material well in hand. To one who has known Hebrew history from the unscientific point of view there will be much in the book to occasion question and uncertainty, and in the comparatively narrow limits of these two volumes not much opportunity is given to do more than state results, and these often in a very succinct fashion. But we have no book like it today in its combination of a modern point of view, thorough objectivity of presentation, attractiveness of style, and moderate compass.*

G. S. G.

* Vol. II seems to have been somewhat less carefully revised than Vol. I. We note some obvious oversights in proof reading: "Dillman" for Dillmann (I, 214; II, 209, 211); "Shalmaneser III" for Shalmaneser IV (II, 59, 102); "Phraortes" for Phraortes (II, 168); "Nazarite" for Nazirite (II, 51). Is "Beersheba" (II, 31) an oversight? Is Osorkon I or II to be identified with the "Zerah" of Chronicles (II, 43)? In I, 210, the title of R. F. Horton should be "Reverend," not "Professor." In Assyrian matters there is room for some difference of opinion with the author. His inferences from the Rammannirari III material, that there was a "capture" of Damascus, and that the king's advance can be traced "to the plain of Esdraelon" (II, 75), seem to us questionable. Equally so are the judgments on Tiglath Pileser III as characterized by "inordinate greed" and "insatiable cruelty" (II, 99); on Sennacherib, as proving "as great a general as his father" (II, 145). Is there ground for regarding Tyre and Sidon as joining "with Pekah in a coalition against Assyria" (II, 101)? Did Sargon go to Palestine in 711 (II, 115)? Professor Kent argues for the year 725 B. C. as the accession year of Hezekiah (II, 118-19), but the reasoning is not clear, especially that based on Merodach-Baladan (*cf.* II, 143). Some other points on which the author has not exercised his usual careful scholarship are the following: Jerusalem was "a new shrine hallowed by no traditions" (II, 32). But we recall Melchizedek and the Tel-el-amarna tablets, and 1 Sam. 17:54, which suggest the opposite. That Judah at the time of the disruption "inherited most of the military equipment of the empire" (II, 35) can be substantiated only by calling in the evidence of the very late passage, 1 Kings 12:21-24. It is hardly warranted to say that the members of the prophetic guilds stood in much the same relation to the religion of Jehovah as the prophets of Baal to the Phoenician cult (II, 62). Had not Samuel quite transformed the Canaanite-Hebrew prophet? Is it exactly accurate to say that there was a Hebrew popular saying, "He drives like Jehu" (II, 66)? Does Amos either assert or imply that Jehovah "is God to each and every nation" (II, 94)?

We call attention to these points, first, to illustrate how the author is fully abreast of the new learning, and, second, to suggest his reconsideration of these particulars in preparation for a second edition of his work, for which we trust there will speedily be a demand.

Christian Life in Germany as seen in the State and the Church.

By EDWARD F. WILLIAMS, D.D. Chicago: F. H. Revell Company, 1896. Pp. 313. Price \$1.50.

The Christian people of America need to acquire a more fair and impartial view of the religious condition of the German Empire. There is enough that is discouraging in every country, but there is no gain in misrepresentations. To some minds rationalism and social democracy are the first images suggested by German life, and it must be confessed that they are powerful forces. In this book one who has visited Germany tells us many of the essential facts of a many-sided life; of home, school, industry, classes, state and church. There is a brief sketch of the moral, religious, and industrial movements of the century. The rise, growth, and present status of the foreign-mission societies are clearly set forth. One of the most complete accounts to be found in English is given of the Inner Mission, the philanthropic service of the Evangelicals for their own country. There is some repetition, due to following Schaefer at one place and Weber's books at another. Too little notice is given to the economic and political service of Evangelicals and Catholics; Naumann, Göhre, and Raiffeisen not being mentioned. But these slight limitations do not seriously detract from the value of the volume. American Christians can learn very much from the Inner Mission. It has united the divided forces of Protestantism, given fields of usefulness to the laity, made thousands of men and women feel that the church was for them as well as for the clergy, opened the sympathies of the nation, compelled cold rationalists to see the value of a heart piety, educated the conscience of the rich and the learned, brought the officials of government into more humane relations with the poor, given directness and power to preaching, and helped to set Christianity before the alienated multitude as a living force in our own age. The story is so well told in this volume that it can be heartily commended to the leaders of religious life.

C. R. HENDERSON.

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COLUMNS (height 65 ft., circum. 35 ft.) IN THE GREAT HYPOSTYLE HALL OF
THE TEMPLE OF AMON AT KARNAK (Thebes).

(After successive destructions by Assyrians, Persians, Ptolemys, Romans, Saracens, Turks and tourists.) See p. 423.

From a Photograph by Bonfils.

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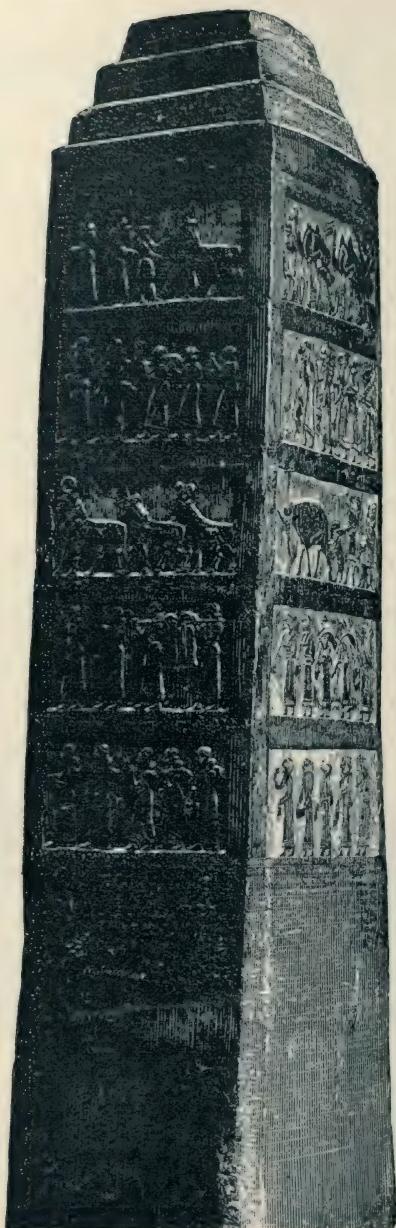
NUMBER 6

A SKETCH OF ASSYRIAN HISTORY, WITH SPECIAL
REFERENCE TO PALESTINE, FROM THE DIVI-
SION OF THE KINGDOM.

By GEORGE S. GOODSPED,
The University of Chicago.

Tiglathpileser I.—*The Aramaean migration.*—*The period of recovery.*—
The attack on the West.—*Shalmaneser II.*—*Battle of Qarqar.*—*Period of*
decline.—*Tiglathpileser III.*—*Intrigues of Egypt and Babylon.*—*Sargon and*
Samaria.—*Sennacherib and Hezekiah.*—*The fall of Assyria.*—*Its contribu-*
tion to progress.

THE Assyrian kingdom is already old at the date at which this sketch begins. Its earlier history has been told in the article by Professor Lyon in the BIBLICAL WORLD of June 1896. Just before 1000 B. C. the first Assyrian king on the grand scale, Tiglathpileser I (*ca. 1120–1100*), had led an army to the Mediterranean and apparently started the empire upon a new career of conquest. But unexpected hindrances interfered. He was succeeded by his two sons, from whom only slight notices have come down to us. With them, indeed, begins a surprising decline in the fortunes of Assyria, lasting for at least a century. The chief reason for this seems to be that a new and irresistible migration of peoples from northern Arabia spread over the Mesopotamian and Syrian plains, forcing the Assyrians back upon their own borders. This was the so-called Aramæan migration,



THE BLACK OBELISK OF SHALMANESER II.

the presence of which in Syria is testified to in the biblical narrative of the wars of David with the kingdom of Zobah and the relations of Solomon with the newly founded kingdom of Damascus.

Darkness settles down upon the Assyrian kingdom until we come to a certain Rammannirari II, from whose brief inscription we learn of two of his predecessors, Ashurdan II and Tiglathpileser II, the latter of whom seems to have been the founder of the new dynasty by which Assyria's fortunes were to be re-established. Rammannirari II was succeeded by Tiglathadar II, and he by Ashurnatsirpal (B. C. 884-860), with whom Assyria takes a great step forward.

It has often been remarked that this decline of Assyria (B. C. 1100-900) was a providential condition of the rise and splendid development of the kingdom of David and Solomon. The Aramaeans weakened the great eastern empires and made any movement in northern Syria impossible during this period, while they themselves were not sufficiently organized nor had penetrated deeply enough into southern

Syria to threaten the Israelite kingdom. But by the year 884 B. C. all had changed, and on every side the opportunity was given for a great advance of Assyria. The Aramæans had settled down into petty kingdoms on either side of the upper Euphrates; Babylonia was suffering from the invasion of the Kaldi; Egypt, after the brilliant reign of Shishak I, had fallen into decay, and the splendid organization of Solomon had split into the petty kingdoms of Israel and Judah.

Ashurnatsirpal seems to have devoted himself primarily to the recovery of the Mesopotamian plain from the Aramæans, breaking up the kingdoms lying about the upper waters of the Euphrates. He made an expedition into Syria, the date of which is quite uncertain, possibly about 875 (*cf. Records of the Past*, new series, Vol. II), in which he reached the Mediterranean. Its influence upon Palestine may have been hardly more than to weaken the northern Syrian states, and thus to give a freer hand to the kingdom of Damascus in its rising hostility to Israel. No doubt, also, all Syria now began to understand that a new development of the military kingdom lying on the Tigris had begun.

Under Shalmaneser II, his son (860–825 B. C.), the western campaigns were vigorously pursued. First, the Aramæan kingdom lying in the great bend of the Euphrates was demolished. Then the river was crossed and the Syrian states attacked. The lesson of Ashurnatsirpal had been heeded, and Shalmaneser found himself face to face with a coalition of kingdoms of the West that met him in 854, at the battle of Qarqar. His account of the battle, containing the first mention of a king of Israel in Assyrian annals, is as follows:

Twelve hundred chariots, 1200 horsemen, 20,000 men of Hadad-ezer of Damascus; 700 chariots, 700 horsemen, 10,000 men of Irhulini of Hamath; 2000 chariots, 10,000 men of Ahab of Israel; 500 men of the Guæans; 1000 men of the Musræans; 10 chariots, 10,000 men of the Irqanatæans; 200 men of Matinubaal of Arvad; 200 men of the Usanatæans; 30 chariots, 10,000 men of Adunubaal, the Shianæan; 1000 camels of Gindibu the Arabian; 1000 men of Basa the Amanæan, the son of Ruhubi—these twelve kings he called to his help in order to do battle and combat. They marched against me. With the exalted power which Ashur my lord granted me, with the mighty

weapons which Nergal, who goes before me, had given me, I fought with them, from Qarqar to Gilzan I overthrew them. Fourteen thousand of their warriors I laid low with my weapons.



I. TRIBUTE OF JEHU, 842 B. C.
(From the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser.)

That Shalmaneser II, for all his boast of victory, had suffered in the conflict with the West is shown by the fact that for five



II. TRIBUTE OF JEHU, 842 B. C.
(From the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser.)

years he did not come into that region. Not until 849 do we hear of another meeting with the Syrian coalition. Another

campaign followed in 846, another in 842, and another in 839.



III. TRIBUTE OF JEHU, 842 B. C.
(From the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser.)

In the two latter campaigns he was confronted by Hazael of Damascus, who, according to 2 Kings 8:15, had usurped the



IV. TRIBUTE OF JEHU, 842 B. C.
(From the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser.)

throne of that kingdom. It was shortly after 842 that on the black obelisk of Shalmaneser, among the tributary kings, mention

is made of "Jehu, the son of Omri," who paid tribute to the Assyrian king.

It was not without serious strain upon the resources of the Assyrian empire that this tremendous struggle with the Syrian states was carried on. To this fact is perhaps attributable the revolt led by a son of the king which troubled the last years of Shalmaneser II, and which he left to be overcome by his son and successor, Shamshiramman II (825-811). To him succeeded Rammannirari III (811-782). He entered the West once more, after it had rested from Assyrian invasion since 833. The Eponym canon records a four years' expedition (806-803), and an inscription from the king mentions the defeat of Damascus and the overthrow of its king, Mari, and the extension of Assyrian authority over "the land of Omri." The king seems to have made his arms supreme even to the border of Egypt, though whether he ever entered the land of Israel with his army is doubtful.

The significance of the Assyrian movements in this period in their relation to Israel lies in their influence upon the war which was almost constantly maintained between the aggressive kings of Damascus and the kings of northern Israel. When the Assyrians failed to attack the West, Damascus was free to put forth its entire strength against Israel. After Jehu had sent his tribute to the Assyrians, Damascus seems to have taken vengeance by reducing the kingdom of Israel during his reign and that of his successor almost to a condition of vassalage. There is good reason to believe that the expeditions of Rammannirari III by overrunning the kingdom of Damascus were just in time to save Israel from extinction. The Assyrian king may be referred to in 2 Kings 13:5.

With the death of Rammannirari III Assyria falls into another temporary decline. This is indicated by the absence of documents from the three kings of this period, Shalmaneser III (782-773), Ashurdan III (772-755), and Ashurnirari (754-745). The Eponym list, with its brief mention of pestilence and revolts, testifies to the inglorious condition of the state. Some expeditions, indeed, into the West are mentioned, one against Damas-

cus, one against Arpad, and three against a city of northern Syria, Hatarika; enough, perhaps, to keep down the strength of these kingdoms without extending or strengthening the Assyrian sway.

With Ashurnirari this splendid dynasty of Assyrian kings which had ruled for more than a century came to an end. One who did not belong to the old royal line succeeded to the throne, possibly as the outcome of a successful revolution—Tiglath-pileser III. He introduced a new period of Assyrian conquest. He is the first Assyrian king to obtain in any real sense the title of king of Babylon. He seems to have reigned in Babylon under the name of *Pulu*, which reappears in the biblical narrative of 2 Kings 15:19. In the West, where Assyria's activity had been intermittent, an opportunity had been given for the recovery and reestablishment of the local kingdoms. Israel and Judah seem to have been able to take advantage of this opportunity. Jeroboam II in Israel (885–745) brought Israel to the highest point of her material development. Similar prosperity on a smaller scale attended the long reign of Uzziah (Azariah) in Judah.

Tiglathpileser III, however, showed himself unwilling to remain the nominal head of the West, where Assyria's inactivity during the preceding years had given occasion to vassal cities to refuse to render lawful tribute. In 743 he began a four years' campaign against Arpad, a city of central Syria. In 738 he was again in that region to overthrow a revolt which centered about the city of Hamath. It was in connection with this campaign, apparently, that mention is made in fragments of his annals which have come down to us of a certain Azariah of Judah, who is the leader of the revolt, and whom he defeats. The mention of this king of Judah, apparently the same as Uzziah, has given rise to many conjectures and explanations, none of which are altogether satisfactory. Among the tributary kings mentioned in connection with this campaign is Menahem of Samaria, and it is interesting to bring into connection with this statement of the Assyrian king the passage in 2 Kings 15:19–20.

Among other tribute-paying kings of this year is Rezon of

Damascus, who, however, in a similar tribute list of four years later, is not mentioned. Between these two dates, therefore, he had revolted. Second Kings 15:37; 16:5 tells how he united with Pekah of Israel in a coalition and made war upon Joram and Ahaz of Judah because, as has been thought, these kings would not unite in the anti-Assyrian movement. Judah was brought into great straits, and the youthful Ahaz, against the earnest admonition of Isaiah, his prophet counselor, sought a way out of the difficulty by offering tribute to Tiglathpileser. The appeal was successful. The Assyrian advanced into the West in 734 and for two years marched up and down through this region. Rezon was shut up in Damascus, Israel was overthrown. The Assyrian army moved southward into Philistia as far as Gaza. On its return march Pekah was dethroned and slain, and Hoshea reigned in his stead as a vassal of Assyria. Damascus was captured, Rezon slain, and the whole land with the exception of Israel was made into an Assyrian province.

It is not certain whether Shalmaneser IV who followed on the Assyrian throne (727-722) was the son of his predecessor, since from his short reign of five years no monuments have come down to us. The Eponym canon is also defective for his reign, and our information concerning him is dependent upon the few statements found in the Babylonian chronicle and in 2 Kings 17:1-6. It appears that Hoshea paid the Assyrian tribute in the accession year of Shalmaneser, being overawed by the presence of Shalmaneser's army. But in the second year thereafter he revolted, whereupon the Assyrian king invaded Israel, imprisoned him, and attacked Samaria, but was compelled to besiege it, and died during the siege.

His successor was Sargon (722-705), the greatest of all the Assyrian kings. He brought the siege of Samaria to a successful conclusion in 722, and in a passage of his annals speaks as follows: "I besieged and conquered Samaria. I deported 27,290 inhabitants. I removed from thence fifty war chariots. People out of all lands, prisoners of mine, I settled there. I placed my officials over them as governors. I laid tribute upon them in the Assyrian fashion." According to other inscriptions

he settled there people from Arabia and probably from Babylon. This is in harmony with the statement of 2 Kings 17:24.

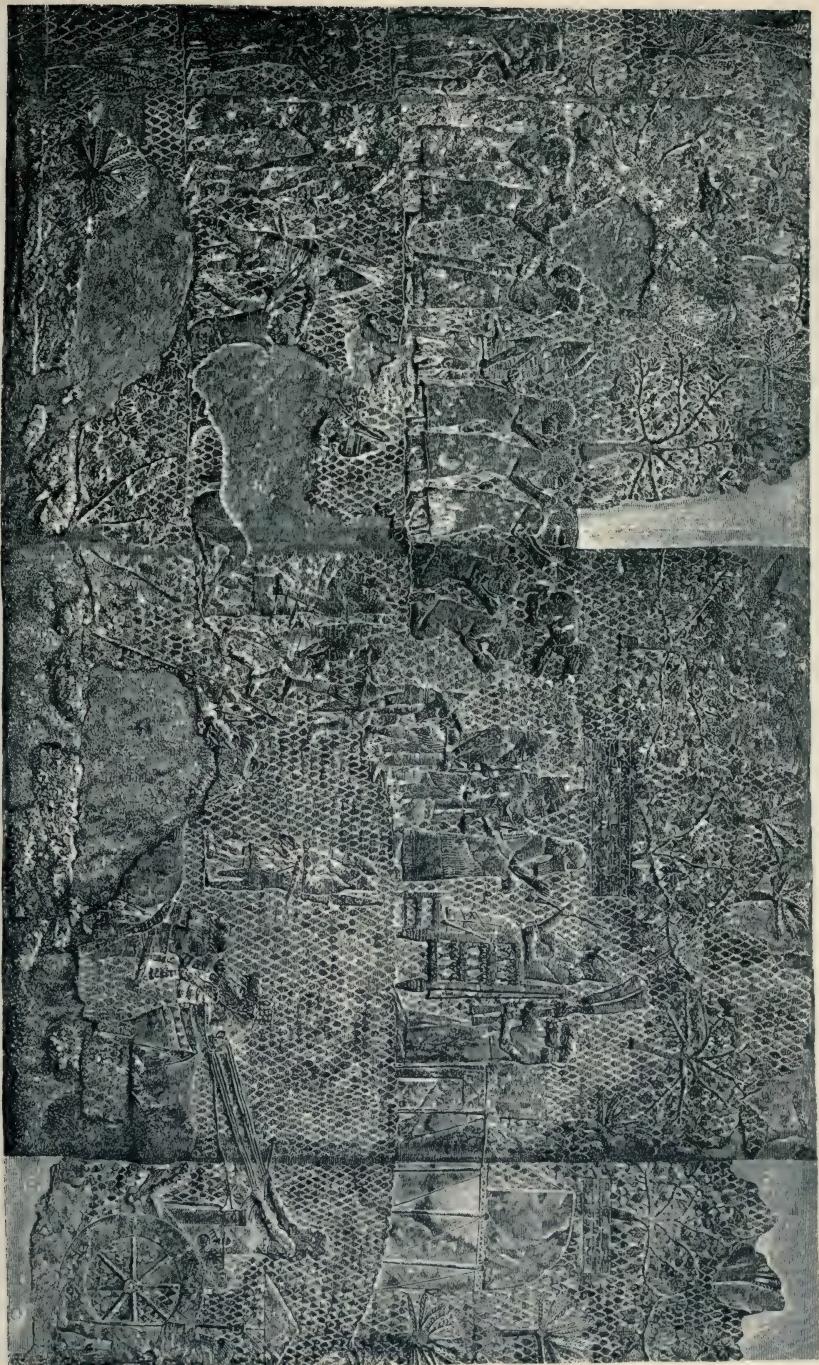
The real cause of the troubles with these western provinces was the attempt of Egypt to gain influence in these regions. The Ethiopians secured control of the Egyptian throne with the twenty-fifth dynasty, and its first king, Sabako, proceeded immediately to intrigue in the Assyrian provinces. Hoshea of Israel seems to have been the first victim of these intrigues, but he was not the last. A king of Hamath revolted and succeeded in organizing Arpad, Damascus, and Samaria in connection with Gaza against the Assyrian, in reliance upon promises of assistance made by the king of Egypt. Sargon defeated the coalition at the battle of Raphia in 720. For nine or ten years the West was quiet. In 711 another revolt occurred, the center of which was the city of Ashdod. Sargon sent his Turtan to put down the rebels, and the expedition is referred to in the twentieth chapter of Isaiah. An inscription fragment mentions Judah in connection with this rebellion as though it was a tributary state which had joined the alliance against Assyria. In view of this fact there is a difference of opinion among scholars as to whether Judah was punished when the rebellion was put down. No satisfactory evidence on this point exists either in the inscriptions or in the Old Testament.

The great achievements of Sargon are connected with the East, rather than with the West. It was he who gave the deathblow to the kingdom of Urartu, the only rival of Assyria in the East. The rising power of the Kaldi in Babylonia, as represented by Marduk-bal-iddin, was beaten back by him, and he spent the last years of his life at Babylon, where he received the homage and tribute of the kings of his immense domains. Assyria was never more strong or prosperous than under him. He was the first real organizer of the empire. The policy of deportation, the method of Assyrian provincial government, was developed by him. He was a great builder, and the remains of his palace exhibit the finest examples of Assyrian architecture and art.

Sargon is said to have been murdered by one of his soldiers. His son, Sennacherib (705-682) succeeded. Marduk-bal-iddin

seems to have chosen the opportunity for the organization of a coalition east and west against the Assyrian. The visit of his ambassadors to Hezekiah (2 Kings 20:12) seems to have had this object in view. Sennacherib, however, proceeded immediately against Babylonia, and followed up the defeat of the Chaldaean by an expedition to the West in 701. First the Phœnician states were subdued; Askalon was captured; other cities of Philistia were overrun; a battle was fought at Altaku with the Egyptian army, which was driven into Egypt. Sennacherib then turned to Judah, overran the country, took the cities, captured 200,150 people, carried off great booty, and shut Hezekiah up in Jerusalem. The king of Judah submitted and paid tribute to save himself and his capital. Sennacherib had advanced to Lachish, where he received the tribute. But as Sennacherib advanced further, he feared to leave behind him this citadel in possession of the king of Judah, and sent a detachment, in violation of his agreement, to demand its surrender. His attempt failed. The detachment retired, and shortly after that strange calamity befell the Assyrian army (2 Kings 19:35) concerning which the inscriptions are naturally silent. It is doubtful whether Sennacherib ever came into the West again, though the reason for this was probably not so much the unhappy issue of this campaign as the fact that the western tributaries had no more spirit to revolt.

Sennacherib fell a victim to the ambition of his sons, who slew him, according to the biblical account, while he was worshiping in a temple. His third son, Esarhaddon, took vengeance upon the murderers and succeeded to his father's throne (681-668). Sennacherib's later years had been occupied in a fierce struggle with the Chaldaeans, in which he had razed Babylon to the ground. Esarhaddon, however, altered his father's policy, and rebuilt the city and made it the center of his empire. He seems to have been one of the best of the Assyrian rulers. Egyptian intrigues induced the western states, especially Sidon, to revolt, and a three years' campaign (680-678) was necessary before they were subdued. The king took a cruel vengeance upon his rebellious subjects, perhaps with the design of making



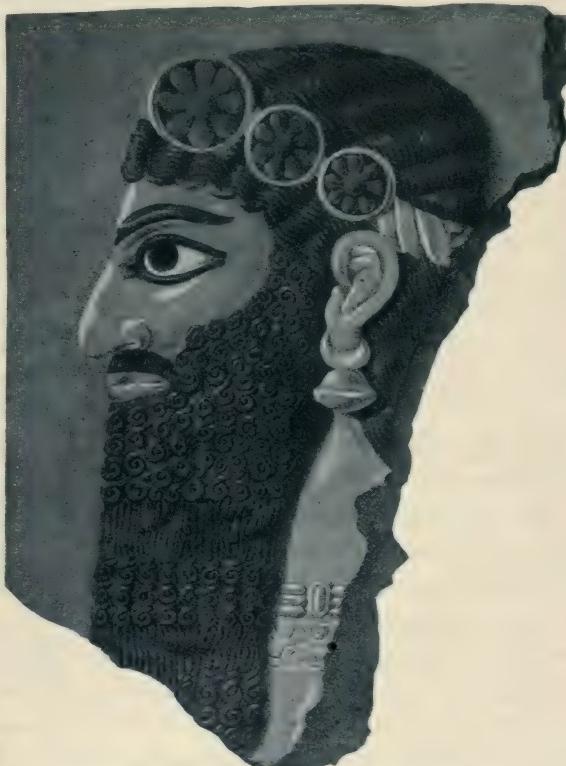
SENNACHERIB AT LACHISH.

other revolts unadvisable. In an inscription of Esarhaddon dated *ca.* 675 there appears in the tribute list of the kings of the West the name of Manasseh, king of Judah. The king of Egypt, the vigorous Taharka, was unwilling to leave the western cities in peace, and after a time succeeded in inciting Baalu of Tyre to revolt. Esarhaddon perceived that for the security of these Mediterranean cities he must reduce Egypt to submission, and in 674 and 671 he advanced against the empire upon the Nile. In the latter campaign, after besieging Tyre, he crossed the desert and entered Egypt, fought three battles in quick succession, captured Memphis, and drove Taharka into Ethiopia. Another expedition was made in 669, but Esarhaddon seems to have died before it was completed.

His son and successor, Ashurbanipal (668–626), continued the campaign. On the death of Esarhaddon, Taharka had returned and reentered Memphis. The advancing Assyrian army drove him out. A conspiracy was formed among the Egyptian princes to restore him, led by Necho of Sais, but it completely failed. Finally, in 662, the Ethiopians were driven out of Egypt and the Assyrian authority there was supreme. In a tribute list of Ashurbanipal, from about the year 667, the name of Manasseh of Judah occurs again. It is evident that Judah was a submissive vassal of the Assyrian Empire. Assyrian culture followed in the wake of Assyrian armies, and the gradual incorporation of the western states into the empire brought with it the adoption of Assyrian civilization, the recognition of Assyrian religion, and interest in Assyrian literature. A specific instance of this is seen in the biblical references to the presence of Assyrian culture and religion in the kingdom of Judah in the times of Ahaz, Hezekiah, and Manasseh. The altar which the former saw at Damascus, and copied, was in all probability Assyrian. The sun dial of the same king is an Assyrian invention, and the idolatries which are ascribed to Manasseh bear an Assyrian stamp, and suggest how the supremacy of the armies of Assyria formed a strong argument in favor of the superiority of her gods. Some writers have held that this period probably saw the introduction of much of that Babylonian mythology so like those narratives

which are preserved in a purified form in the early chapters of Genesis. Ashurbanipal had removed his seat of government from Babylon back to Nineveh, placing his brother, Shamash-shumukin, as king in Babylon. After some years the brother organized a formidable conspiracy, embracing the king of Elam, the Chaldæans, and the cities of the West. For two or three years Ashurbanipal bent all his energies to the suppression of the revolt, and when it was finally overcome in 648, and the subjugation of Elam followed, Ashurbanipal stood at the height of his power. Just what punishment was inflicted upon the kings of the West for their share in the rebellion we do not know, but the explicit narrative of 2 Chron. 33:11-13 as to the Assyrian attack upon Manasseh, his removal to Babylon, and his restoration to his kingdom has led some scholars to place this event in connection with the great revolt led by the king's brother. Treatment parallel to that of Manasseh is recorded by Ashurbanipal in the case of Necho, prince of Egypt.

Brilliant as were the reigns of both Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal, they mark in fact the period of Assyria's decline. The



TYPICAL ASSYRIAN HEAD FROM NINEVEH.

conquest of Egypt was a necessity for the preservation of the fidelity of the western provinces. It was never incorporated into the empire. Esarhaddon's victories in the northeast really broke down the power of those tribes that stood as a barrier against the Medes. Ashurbanipal's conquest of Elam likewise opened the way for the Persians to reach the Babylonian border. Therefore hardly was Ashurbanipal in his grave when Assyria hastened rapidly to her fall. Of these last years we are very imperfectly informed. Two sons of the great king followed him, the one, Ashurtililani, the other, Sinsharishkun. A great Scythian invasion has swept down into western Asia. The Medes have appeared upon the heights above Nineveh. The Kaldi have reached the summit of their ambition in gaining possession of Babylonia. The two join against Assyria under the leadership of Cyaxares the Mede and Nabupalutsur the Chaldæan. Against these united forces Nineveh makes no long resistance. The last king, his court, and his people perish in the destruction of the capital—even the date is not known, though it was probably about 606 B. C.

During these three hundred years Assyria had a great career, and its service in forwarding the progress of the world was important and indispensable. It was the first real world empire that had thus far existed. It worked out the necessary, though crude, beginnings of political organization on a large scale—the government of subject peoples, the unity of a great state. In this empire it distributed the elements of its civilization. Along the roads under its control trade and commerce advanced from east to west, and with trade, art and culture. Thus it passed on the torch of civilization to Asia Minor and Greece. Cruel as were its wars, they served the interests of civilization in that they broke down and annihilated the various petty and contending nationalities of western Asia, welding all into a rude sort of unity which prepared the way for that next attempt of man to realize a world empire which was undertaken under the leadership of another family of peoples, the Aryans. The Persian Empire would not have been had not Assyria done its work.

A SKETCH OF EGYPTIAN HISTORY FROM THE FALL OF THE NATIVE KINGS TO THE PERSIAN CON- QUEST.

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At the conclusion of our sketch of Egypt's career in the BIBLICAL WORLD of last June we left the nation in the hands of the foreign mercenaries who, already in the XXth dynasty, formed so large a part of her army.¹ Twice in their career, under Amenemhêt I, the founder of the middle, and Ahmose, the founder of the new empire, the people of Egypt had risen from periods of disorganization and decay and shown latent resources which lifted them again into centuries of the highest political power, where they left the world a further legacy of unparalleled achievement in architecture, art, and industries. But the sources of their strength were at last exhausted, and it was allotted Egypt to play only a secondary rôle in the political history of the Orient during the entire last millennium before Christ. Thus while, on the one hand, her arts and industries made her the teacher of the whole world; while her products were found in every mart—and may still be picked up in every ruin—from Babylon on the east to the Phœnician cities of the Spanish coast on the west, on the other hand her armies were the plaything of Asiatic and European invaders. Her craftsmen were supreme, while her kings were often slaves.

The accession of the Libyan military adventurer Sheshonk about the middle of the tenth century B. C. was the beginning of a new epoch in Egyptian history. In every large city of the Delta, like Tanis or Sais, there were mercenary commanders like Sheshonk who were naturally inclined to attempt a usurpation similar to his successful *coup* in Bubastis. The result was a

¹ See the BIBLICAL WORLD, June 1896, p. 457.

rapid decline in the power of Sheshonk's Bubastite successors, the Osorkons, Sheshonks, and Takelots (the XXIId dynasty), while in the Delta and up the valley there was, within a hundred years of Sheshonk's death, a similar kinglet in almost every important city. We see thus gradually developing exactly the same conditions which preceded the consolidation of the middle and the new empire, and which in Assyro-Babylonian history likewise preceded every such consolidation. Of these Bubastite kings after Sheshonk we know almost nothing, so few monuments have they left us, and so complete is the destruction of the Delta cities. From the tablets recording the death of successive Apis bulls in Memphis we learn that their authority was recognized at this city, and even also as far up the river as Thebes in the twenty-ninth year of the third Sheshonk. They were probably still influential in Palestine, and they had more urgent reason than the conquerors of the early new empire for showing themselves powerful in Syrian politics, viz., the rising power of Assyria. Already near the end of the twelfth century one of the early Tanite (XXIst dynasty) successors of the Ramessides had sent gifts to honor Tiglathpileser I on his victorious western campaign. One of these same Tanites later on was glad to gain Solomon as a vassal by subduing for him the still unconquered Canaanite city of Gezer¹ and giving him a daughter in marriage. A generation later the Libyan Sheshonk had seized the first opportunity of gaining control of Palestine and showing that the petty Syrian states were still no match for Egypt.² One of his successors, feeling the necessity of action in view of Shalmaneser II's alarming westward progress, contributed 1000 men to the great western coalition which was defeated by Shalmaneser at Qarqar on the Orontes in 853 B. C.

While the weakening princes of the Delta were thus doing all in their power to block the westward advance of Assyria, a new complication arose within the Nile valley itself. Probably as early as the XXIst dynasty there grew up an independent Cushite kingdom on the upper river with its capital at Napata,

¹ Kings 9:15-16.

² The BIBLICAL WORLD, June 1896, p. 457.

just below the fourth cataract.¹ From the rise of the new empire almost the entire cataract region had become a province of Egypt, and by continual and intimate commercial and political intercourse was thoroughly engrafted with the Egyptian civilization. Every town had built a fine Egyptian temple in which Amon was supreme, and everywhere the arts and industries were those of Egypt. The new Ethiopian kingdom therefore was a complete reproduction of the Theban state, save that it was more a theocracy than the priesthood of Thebes had been able to bring about, and thus the word of the priests was law. The Ethiopians early pushed northward and gained control of Thebes, whose priesthood had perhaps founded the new Ethiopian state, and by 775 B. C., under their king Piankhi, they were ready to advance for the conquest of the lower river and the north. For over a hundred years after this invasion of Piankhi the history of Egypt is made up on the one hand of the attempts of the local kinglets at overthrowing each other, and on the other of the invasions of the Ethiopian kings who found it only too easy to subdue and plunder a nation so disorganized. This situation was further complicated by continual attempts against the advance of the Assyrians.

As Piankhi advanced northward in his twenty-first year he was greeted with joy by the populace, who regarded him as more legitimate than the Libyan mercenary commanders who had usurped the throne. The cities for the most part attempted no resistance, but freely opened their gates to him; he received their tribute and sacrificed in their temples. The weakling descendants of Sheshonk in Bubastis were unable to offer any resistance; already for more than a generation a rival family, whom Manetho calls the XXIIId dynasty, had been ruling in Tanis in the eastern Delta. These local princes all hastened to acknowledge the sovereignty of Piankhi. But at Sais, in the western Delta, the local dynast, Tefnakht (once called king), whose increasing power had really been the occasion of Piankhi's invasion, was with difficulty pacified. Having thus gained at least a nominal sovereignty over all Egypt without

¹The middle-empire frontier had been just above the second cataract.

dethroning the mercenary kings, Piankhi retired to Napata, his capital.

Such a conquest left behind it unnumbered seeds of discord and revolt. The plotting and fighting of the local dynasts and



One of two green faience beads in the Chicago Art Institute, bearing the name and titles: "Son of Re, Shabaka, who liveth forever." This king was the founder of the XXVth (Ethiopian) dynasty and is doubtless the same who is called So (mispointing for Sewa or Sawa in 2 Kings 17: 4, Assyrian Sabi) who plotted with Hoshea of Israel against Assyria; ruled c. 728 to 716 B. C. Art Inst. Cat. No. 1325.

petty kings were of course immediately resumed; Bokenranef (Greek Bokchoris), the son of Tefnakht, continued his father's career in Sais and eventually succeeded in overthrowing the Bubastite descendants of Sheshonk. Thus the XXIId dynasty was brought to a close about 735 B. C. (according to Manetho), having for many years ruled only a restricted domain in the Delta. Manetho represents Bokchoris, the sole king of the XXIVth dynasty, as immediately following upon the XXIIId (Tanite) dynasty. He therefore succeeded to the domain of this family also, if indeed their fall was not directly due to him. Thus in the same way as his father Tefnakht had done, Bokchoris was gradually consolidating a powerful kingdom, when he also was suddenly checked in the same manner, and for the same reason. Too powerful a ruler in the Delta might threaten the Ethiopian kingdom. The Ethiopians therefore again intervened. Shabaka, perhaps a grandson, in any case not an immediate successor of Piankhi, marched northward as Piankhi had done, was completely victorious, captured Bokchoris, and, according to Manetho, burned him alive.¹ This time the subjection of Egypt was complete and the Ethiopian sovereignty firmly established. Shabaka's mother was a Bubastite

princess, and he could therefore make a legitimate claim upon the throne. Hence Manetho begins a XXVth or Ethiopian dynasty with him. Thus Egypt passes from the hands of one former servant, the Libyan mercenary, to those of another, the "vile Cush," as he is called even by a Theban inscription of

¹ Βοκχώριν . . . ἐκαυσε σῶντα.

Shabaka (biblical So, 2 Kings 17:4). He built and renovated extensively in Thebes, and appointed his sister Amenardis¹ high priestess of Amon there.

Meantime the power and aggressiveness of Assyria were steadily on the increase. Egypt under her mercenary kings could only look helplessly on while Tiglathpileser III overthrew the Syrian powers, Arpad, Hamath, Damascus, Israel, Philistia, Judah, Edom, Moab and Ammon. Nothing now stood between the empire of the Euphrates and that of the Nile. The accession of Shabaka in 728 and the reunion of Egypt made it possible to take advantage of the death of Tiglathpileser in 727 to form a coalition against his successor Shalmaneser IV, so that Hoshea of Israel entered into negotiations with Shabaka, the So of 2 Kings 17:4, and refused the yearly tribute. On the advance of Shalmaneser to put down the rebellion Shabaka failed to appear, and at the accession of Sargon Samaria falls (722)

¹The mother of Shepenupet, whom Psamtik I married. The alabaster statue reproduced here is in the Gizeh Museum, and the illustration taken from a photograph by Brugsch.



ALABASTER STATUE OF AMENARDIS.

before Egypt has lifted a hand. At length, in 720, after uniting with Hanno of Gaza Shabaka appears on the Egyptian frontier but is totally defeated by Sargon at Raphia. Had not Sargon been immediately called away to defend his northern frontiers Egypt would have immediately been invaded, thus quickly fulfilling the words of Isaiah: "And I will give over the Egyptians into the hands of a cruel lord; and a fierce king shall rule over them, saith the Lord" (19:4). The remains of a seal impression bearing the name of Shabaka, found at Kuyunjik, would indicate a document of state containing perhaps a treaty with Sargon. At any rate in 715 "Pharaoh, king of Egypt," sends a present or tribute to Sargon, and later (711) delivers up to him a fugitive rebel of Ashdod. These facts show the anxiety of the Ethiopian dynasty to propitiate Assyria. Not long before this Shabaka had died, and was succeeded by his son Shabataka, under whom the strife between the mercenary kinglets again broke out. In 701 the Assyrians speak of the "kings of Egypt," and again the land is overwhelmed with its own confusion and uproar as so vividly described by Isaiah: "And I will stir up the Egyptians against the Egyptians: and they shall fight every one against his brother and every one against his neighbor; city against city, and kingdom against kingdom" (19:2). These are clearly the words of an eyewitness who plainly grasped the situation. A man of Isaiah's statesmanship could easily perceive that no effective assistance against Assyria was to be hoped for from a nation in this condition, and Israel was soon to be sorely in need of such assistance.

Sennacherib, who succeeded to the throne of Assyria on the death of Sargon in 705, was confronted by the same revolts which awaited every newly crowned prince. While he was subduing the rebellious Merodachbaladan in Babylon, the entire West arose and made common cause against him. Egypt had been again subdued by the Ethiopians under Taharka (biblical Tirhakah), about the time of Sennacherib's accession. Anxious to make head against Assyria, Taharka gladly joined the Syrian federation. It was only after the overthrow of this federation that the Egyptian forces appeared at the seat of war. All Syria

RECENTLY DISCOVERED BRONZE STATUE OF TAHARKA (Biblical Tirhakah) ETHIOPIAN KING OF EGYPT (ca. 724 to 663 B. C.).

(From the *Zeitsch. f. Aegypt. Sprache*, Vol. XXXIII, Plate VI.)



lay at the feet of Sennacherib, and Judah had been utterly decimated. Unmolested by any of the Syrian states, therefore, Sennacherib completely defeated Taharka's forces at Altaku, and Egypt lay defenseless before the Assyrian invader. The catastrophe which now laid low the Assyrians, and in which the devout Hebrew saw the angel of the Lord, alone saved the Nile valley from the plundering hordes of Sennacherib and was as fortunate for Egypt as for Jerusalem. Twice within twenty years had Assyrian troops stood on the threshold of Egypt, and owing to no prowess of her own the land had escaped. A tradition of this second deliverance was preserved among the Egyptians and in very corrupt form was related to Herodotus.¹ But the danger thus escaped was only postponed. For thirty years Taharka husbanded his resources and accomplished considerable building, especially at Thebes. Then deeming himself sufficiently strong, he joined another Syrian coalition against Sennacherib's son, Esarhaddon, but with proverbial slowness was unable to reach Syria in time to combine with the forces there. Esarhaddon invaded the Delta by way of Pelusium (670 B. C.), captured Memphis, pressed up the river to Thebes, while Taharka fled to Ethiopia, perhaps without ever having offered battle (see p. 423). Esarhaddon then divided the country among twenty of the local kinglets, whose personal feuds had so long been the ruin of the nation; they now became his vassal princes. On the rock walls of the Nahr-el-Kelb, near Berût, Esarhaddon engraved a victorious stela alongside that which Ramses II had placed there over 600 years before (see p. 425). Following the accession of Assurbanipal (668), Taharka made a final attempt to recover the dominion of the lower valley, but was defeated, forsook Memphis, and was forced to abandon even Thebes. Even after this the vassal kings of the Delta continued to plot with Taharka against Assurbanipal.

On the death of Taharka (in 663) his stepson, Tanutamón, called Urdamani in the Assyrian annals, advanced on the last Ethiopian invasion of Egypt. He reached no further north than Memphis, where he claims he received the submission of the

¹ Book ii, chap. 141.

local dynasts of the Delta. This invasion immediately brought Assurbanipal into Egypt, whereupon Tanutamon fled to Napata. Assurbanipal advanced up the river a forty days' march to Thebes, which he sacked and destroyed—a ruin from which the great capital of the new-empire monarchs never recovered. (See frontispiece.) Thus it was that Nahum could address Nineveh: "Art thou better than No-amon,¹ that was situate among the rivers, that had the waters round about her; whose rampart was the sea, and her wall was of the sea? Ethiopia and Egypt were her strength, and it was infinite; Put and Libya (Lubim) were thy helpers. Yet was she carried away, and she went into captivity: her young children also were dashed in pieces at the top of all the streets: and they cast lots for her honorable men, and all her great men were bound in chains" (3:8-10). Neither Tanutamon nor his successors ever again ventured into Egypt; the Ethiopian domination in Egypt had thus lasted with some interruptions from about 775 to 663 B. C. Having transferred the capital from Napata to Meroe, far up toward the junction of the two Niles, the Ethiopian kingdom endured down into the first centuries of the Christian era. The strife of the local dynasts and petty kings, which now



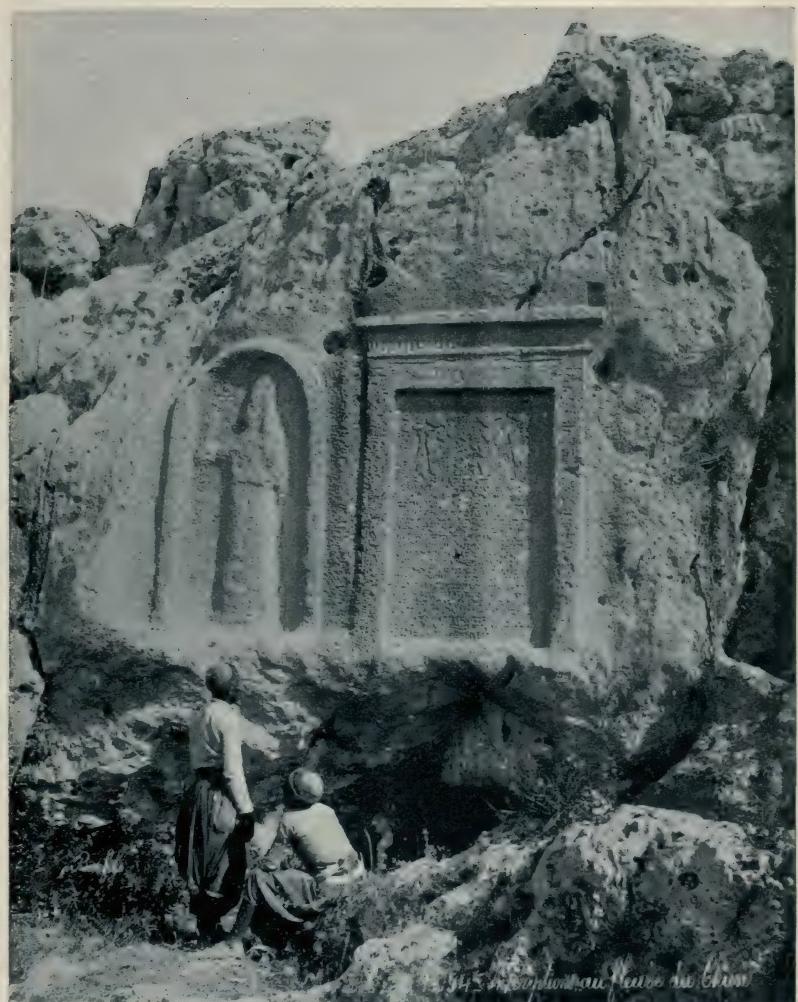
STELA OF SENJIRLI.

(Representing the Submission of Baal king of Tyre and Taharka (Tirhakah, 2 Kings 19:9 = Is. 37:9), Ethiopian king of Egypt (c. 704 to 663 B. C.), to Esarhaddon. The negritic features of Taharka, the smallest figure, are very marked. Berlin Museum.) See p. 422.

¹ Egyptian for "city of Amon," i. e., Thebes, whose god was Amon.

broke out anew, might have continued indefinitely, had not a new element been suddenly introduced. Psamtik (Greek Psammetichos) of Sais, following the traditions of his family, was enabled to take the lead by the employment of mercenaries from a new source; these were Greeks and Carians. By this means he rapidly subdued his neighbors, threw off the yoke of Assyria, and by 645 B. C. had gained the whole Delta and the valley. Assyria, beset on all sides, was unable to prevent the consolidation of his power, and from the invasion of the Ninevite king, which such earlier attempts had always called forth, Psamtik was thus delivered. He married Shepenupet, daughter of Shabaka's sister, Amenardis, high priestess at Thebes. This won the priesthood and gave an appearance of legitimacy to his reign. Thus after 200 years of unparalleled confusion and disunion Egypt was finally granted peace and stable government, and Psamtik was even able to invade the Philistine territory, capturing Ashdod after a siege of twenty-nine years. With him, Manetho very properly begins a new dynasty, the XXVIth.

As the employment of Greek mercenaries shows, the country was now open to the Greeks, who were beginning to penetrate into every corner of the central and eastern Mediterranean. In two generations they are offering the Phœnicians an aggressive competition as the most active merchants in Egypt, and before the fall of this dynasty Amasis has given them a city of their own, Naukratis, in the western Delta. Egypt prospers as never before, and in Greek and Phœnician bottoms her products are carried to every mart of the known world. Now began the establishment of her naval power, which made her so formidable under the Ptolemaic empire. This period of the XXVIth dynasty was in every sense a restoration; not of the glory of the new empire, but, in intention at least, a restoration of that old empire which created such enduring witnesses of its power, and seen through the perspective of nearly twenty-five centuries, seemed to them an ideal age. Hence we find in the government of the XXVIth dynasty the archaic titles of the old empire; in religion the sacred texts which had been graven in the passages of the old-empire pyramids; in art the exquisite reliefs of the



Saphos au fleuve du Chouf

STELÆ OF VICTORY ON THE ROCK WALLS OF THE WADY OF THE DOG RIVER NEAR BERŪT.

(On the left is that of Esarhaddon (670 B. C.), on the right is that of Ramses II made about 600 years earlier than the former.) See p. 422 of the text.

From a Photograph by Bonfils.

old-empire mastabas, which picture to us so eloquently the archaic life of 3000 years before Christ, and portrait statues which have never been surpassed, even by the Greeks. Of this splendid art, owing to the exposed position of its Delta home, very little has survived; of course the same is true of the architecture. Even the peculiar and archaic writing of the old empire was artificially revived for sacred uses, while for business a very much abbreviated cursive hand now known as demotic came rapidly into use, though its origin reaches back as far as the Ethiopian kings.

At the close of Psamtik's long reign of fifty-four years (663–610) Assyria was near her total collapse. It was very natural therefore that Psamtik's son and successor, Necho, with the united power of Egypt behind him, should regard the way for the reconquest of Syria and Palestine as at last open. Marching through Palestine in 608, he is confronted by the young Josiah on the historic field of Megiddo; before the Greek mercenaries of Necho, the Hebrews were as chaff, and their king was slain in the battle. When, in his northern march, Necho had reached Riblah he appointed Josiah's son Jehoiakim as vassal king. But the unexpected rise of Babylon thwarted the ambitious hopes of Necho, as Jeremiah had plainly foreseen (46:13 ff.). At Carchemish, on the Euphrates, which the Egyptian troops had not seen for over 800 years, the motley array¹ of Necho's army was overthrown by Nabopolassar's son, Nebuchadrezzar (604 B. C.), who thus gained all Syria and Palestine at one blow. Though he dared not march again into Palestine Necho now did what he could to weaken Babylonian influence there, and, in spite of Jeremiah's wise warnings, Jehoiakim, hoping in Egypt, rebelled and brought on another invasion from Babylon in which Jerusalem was besieged and captured (596).

At home the reign of Necho continued prosperously for Egypt. He did much for the commerce of the country, as shown by his projected canal from the Nile to the Red Sea, and the circumnavigation of Africa by Phoenicians in his employ. At the death of Necho in 594 his son, Psamtik II (594–589), accom-

¹ Cf. Jer. 46:9.

plished only an unsuccessful invasion of Ethiopia. The latter's son, Wahabre (Greek Apries, Hebrew Hophra, 588–570), made the last attempt of the Pharaohs to regain their former Asiatic conquests. He directed his attack against the Phoenician coast, fighting a successful battle with the Tyrians. This was deemed a favorable opportunity for rebellion by the leaders at Jerusalem. Wahabre, perhaps without a battle, abandoned his attempted conquest, and the result was the capture and final destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonians in 586.



Green glazed steatite scarab of the Chicago Art Institute collection bearing the name: "Wahabre," last of the Psammetichides (XXVIth dynasty), called Hophra in *Jer. 44: 30*; ruled B. C. 588–570. Art. Inst. Cat. No. 1329.



RENAISSANCE (XXVIth Dynasty).

(Portrait in tough green stone; probably the finest portrait which has survived from any ancient art. Berlin Museum.)

From a Photograph by Mertens.

The unfortunate Wahabre finally lost his throne and his life in a revolution at the hands of the friend of the Greeks, Amasis, who then succeeded to the throne (570). Amasis, after a most brilliant reign, died in 526, and was thus saved from beholding the overthrow of the restoration and the conquest of Egypt by the Persians in 525.

It will be seen that during the entire monarchical career of the Hebrews Egypt was under foreign princes (for even the XXVIth dynasty kings are the Egyptianized descendants of the Libyan mercenaries), and only at the beginning and the end of that career was she possessed of any consider-

able power. It is only with Egypt in this period of her decay that the Hebrews were in any measure acquainted.¹

¹ Those portions of the Pentateuch, for example, which deal with the earlier Egypt of the new empire, or earlier, betray very clearly that they were produced under the influence of the later Egypt above treated. The name given to Joseph, Zaphenathpaneach, is a good Egyptian name, but it is of a form which *never* occurs before 1100 B. C., and is not common until the XXIId dynasty. The name attributed to Joseph's father-in-law and master, Potiphar or Potiphera, is of a form which never occurs before 950. Both names were unknown in the time of Joseph; they are commonest in the Saite period (XXVIth dynasty, 663 to 526 B. C.). They show the writer's familiarity with this period and are sufficient in themselves to demonstrate the late date of the Elohist document in which they occur. See STEINDORFF, *Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache*, XXVII, 42 and XXX, 50. SAYCE, in *Higher Criticism and the Monuments*, pp. 212 ff., is clearly unfamiliar with the facts, both historical and philological.

IMPORTANT EVENTS IN ISRAEL, 950-621 B. C.

By IRA M. PRICE,
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Decline of Solomon's kingdom:—1. The disruption.—2. The dynasty of Omri.—3. Religious policy of Jehoshaphat.—4. Alliances between Judah and Israel.—5. The oral prophets.—6. Revolution of Jehu.—7. Prosperity of Judah and Israel under Uzziah and Jeroboam II respectively.—8. The writing prophets.—9. Reforms of Hezekiah.—10. Fall of Samaria.—11. Defection of Manasseh.—12. Rise of Josiah.—Chronological list of important events, 950-621 B. C.

THE Solomonic kingdom had been gilded with the glory of peace and prosperity, but the rumblings and grumblings of restless subjects threatened her security. The tyrannical demands of the government, the slackened grip of the effeminate old ruler, and the ambitious designs of jealous and aspiring men of influence shook the reigning power from center to circumference. Before the death of the king of sages, his empire was struck with a tide of dissolution. One after another the small provinces and peoples broke off and fell away and set up their own kingdom, until the "promised land" had shriveled down again to the original land of conquest. By the demise of the great king the shrunken territory and nation of Israel were permeated with a subtle yet sure regard for the gods of the earlier allied peoples. The religious life was tainted and tinctured by the seductive rites and ceremonies of the pantheon of Solomon's wives. The falling to pieces of the great kingdom, the religious and political decline of the power of Israel, presented a grave problem for a successor to Solomon. Mutterings of the old animosities between the kingdoms of Saul and David threatened to rupture even the little remnant of a kingdom left as Solomon's heritage to his son.

1. *The disruption.*—The heir to the throne of David, Rehoboam, saw the breakers swelling in the North, and to pour oil on

their troubled surface left the capital city, Jerusalem, and repaired to Shechem to assume the throne and to receive the crown of all Israel. Patriarchal and tribal ceremonies had linked this spot to the past, and consecrated it in the eyes of the pious and loyal Israel. Here the flower of the nation gathered in all its glory, ready to give its strength to the cause of right and justice. Before casting themselves at the feet of a son of Solomon, and swearing allegiance to his crown, they reveal their temperature by a mild and modest request to slacken the demands, and to reduce the taxes. The ambitious royal youth wisely asks time for counsel. The cabinet of Solomon, who had seen the wreck of their old king's realm, were first sought. Their conservatism and moderation displeased the aspiring prince. Then his own fellow-sportsmen, reared in the shadow of the court, came to his rescue in advising a high-pressure policy in exchange for the low pressure of his father. The end of the three days brought the rasping reply of the expectant monarch. That was the dynamite bomb that blasted asunder the kingdom of Israel. Quick as a flash the ten tribes hurled their threats and their *ultimatum* at the impudent young aspirant, who was forced to fly for his safety to his father's former capital city, Jerusalem. The smouldering fires in the bosom of the ten tribes burst forth, and destroyed every claim of Rehoboam, and even slew the tax collector with whom he intended to enforce his demands.

A refugee from the wrath of Solomon, a man of recognized ability, Jeroboam, had returned from Egypt and was accorded the crown and the throne of the ten tribes. No time was lost in securing his prize and in taking measures for the defense of his kingdom. Military headquarters were established at Shechem on the west, and at Penuel on the east, of the Jordan. The army was organized, and the defenses equipped against possible attack. But Jerusalem was the center of worship, whither all loyal worshipers of Jehovah gravitated. To meet the religious demands of his subjects and at the same time to unify the spirit of his kingdom, Jeroboam set up both at Bethel, near the southern boundary line, and at Dan, in the extreme north, a golden calf.

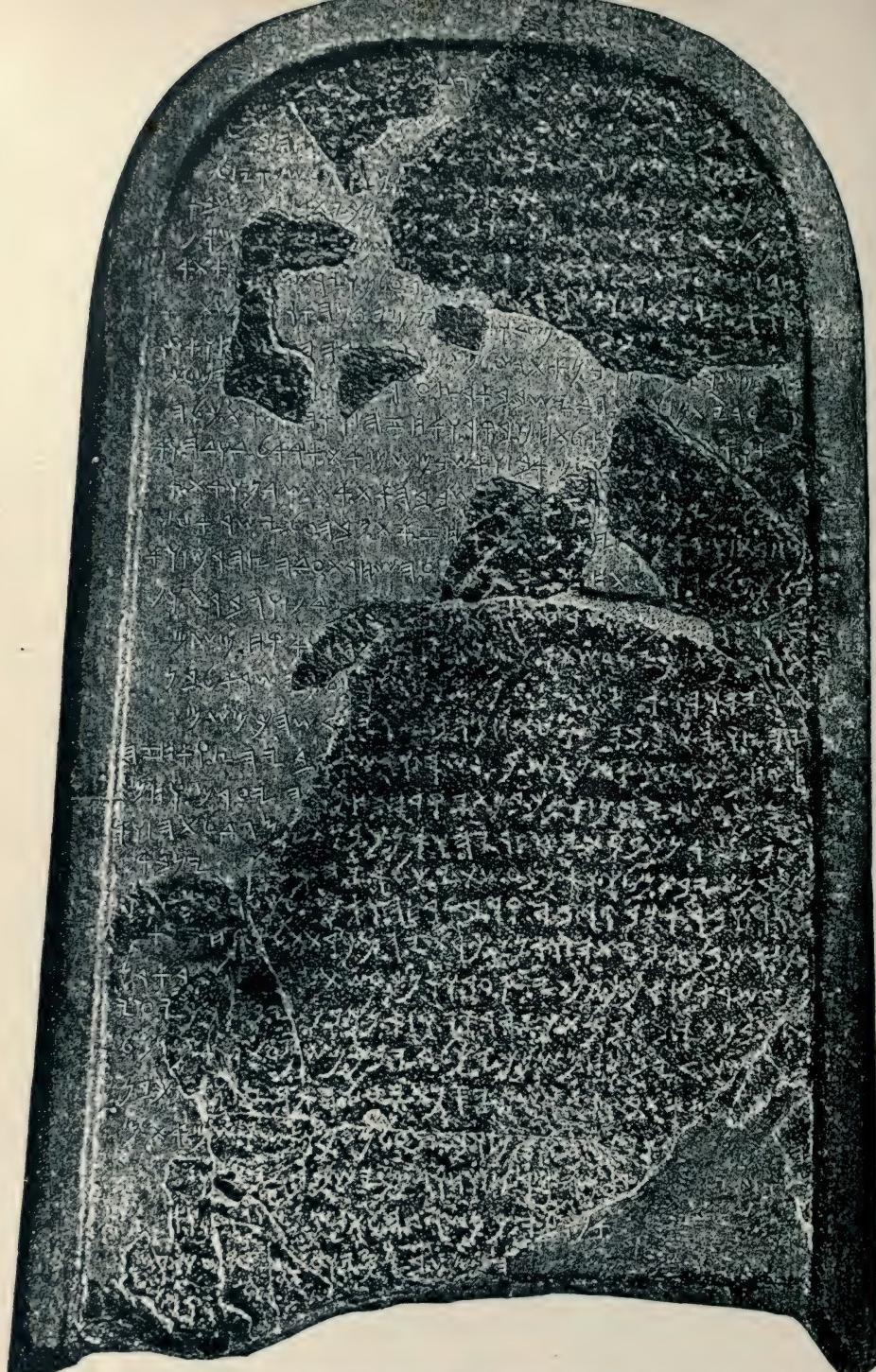
As priests he installed only such of the people as could comply with certain conditions (2 Chron. 13:9). This winnowed out into the southern kingdom the true Jehovah worshipers, and centralized the worship of the ten tribes at the two places located by royal decree.

Instead of one large, favored, and famed empire of Solomon we now find two little kingdoms at swords' points politically and religiously. Side by side they scowled and growled for long years, emulating each other in politics and religion.

The retrograde policy of Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, inoculated the ten tribes, threatening them with a fatal disease. Though superior politically to their southern neighbors, their first dynasty of kings met its fate in a tragedy enacted in the royal army (1 Kings 15:25-31).

2. *The dynasty of Omri.*—Anarchy and civil revolution followed in rapid succession, and the very life of the kingdom seemed to be ebbing away. Several years of bloody tragedies, in which two kings and dynasties fell before their assassins, and a third put the torch to his own palace, and perished in that funeral pyre (1 Kings 16:9-20), stained the brightest hopes of the ten tribes. But might established the right of the stronger, and Omri routed his rival Tibni (1 Kings 16:16-29), and was triumphantly crowned king over the bleeding little kingdom. What city should be his capital? Tirzah was associated in thought with the atrocities of anarchy, and to sit upon a throne within her walls would be to court the dagger's point. With the sagacity of a military leader Omri selected and purchased as the site for his headquarters a strategical hill, commanding a fertile plain and a broad horizon. Upon this sightly and strong position he built his royal city and fortress, Samaria. This shrewd stroke, and the dispatch with which he carried it out, irresistibly laid claim to the loyalty of his subjects. Omri became firmly imbedded in the strength of his realm, commanding even the respect of foreign peoples. His apparently successful reign is terminated, not by the point of a weapon, but by a natural death.

His son Ahab now lays hold of the scepter to administer the kingdom. His first recorded act struck the keynote of the reli-



THE INSCRIPTION OF KING MESHA OF MOAB, KNOWN AS THE MOABITE STONE, MENTIONING OMRI'S RECONQUEST OF MOAB.

(For a transliteration and translation see the BIBLICAL WORLD, January 1896, pp. 60-64.)

gious life of Israel. Omri's popularity with Phœnicia had introduced his son into that foreign court. Ahab's passion for power and royalty led him to offer his hand to the attractive young princess, Jezebel. The royal marriage is consummated, and the Phœnician contingent assumes her share of authority, both over the king and over the kingdom. With zeal worthy of a better cause she sets about to establish her personality and beliefs in this new sphere. The somewhat chaotic religious condition of the ten tribes supplied a fair field for religious innovations. Jezebel imported and planted in Israelitish soil fresh roots of Baal worship. She grafted on the already strange religious stocks of Israel new scions of Asherah. As soon as these importations began to assume proportions of some importance, Jezebel set out to root out every trace of Jehovah worship. Her decrees of extermination crushed or crowded into their hiding places every aggressive worshiper of Jehovah. The blight of Baal and Asherah blasted the land. It was symbolized by the famine which drove Ahab to hunt oases of pasture for his flocks. This infection raged unabated during the remaining years of the house of Omri, and threatened to invade other territory.

3. *The religious policy of Jehoshaphat.*—While Ahab and Jezebel were poisoning the religious life of Israel and putting to flight the adherents of Jehovah, Jehoshaphat in Judah was inaugurating a policy diametrically opposite in character. He removed the Asherim, some high places, and walked in the first ways of David his father (2 Chron. 17:3). With a true insight into the basis of religious and political security and growth, he devised means of more firmly establishing that basis. Throughout his realm he sent princes, priests, and Levites to teach the people the law of Jehovah, obedience to which formed the true basis of individual and national character. This first recorded extension teaching in country and city laid the foundation for the secure superstructure of Jehoshaphat's reign.

With a people fed on the law of Jehovah, and loyal to their righteous and noble leader, Jehoshaphat was able to organize and command a powerful army. The land was fortified and garrisoned by patriotic troops, ready to obey the orders of their

king. The *esprit de corps* of the people of Judah, and the nobility of her king winged their way to foreign nations, and commanded their admiration and veneration. The dissipation and evaporation of the combined armies of Moab, Ammon, and Seir (2 Chron. 20: 1-30) before the righteous army of this king is one illustration of the power of their God-fearing valor. Judah became a bulwark of righteousness and of political strength, and stood out in vivid contrast with the unrighteousness and political disasters of Israel.

4. *Alliance between Judah and Israel.*—The comparative success of the two kings in their respective realms, and their national kinship, created a fellow feeling. To exchange royal courtesies the king of Judah went with his retinue to the court of Ahab in Samaria (1 Kings, chap. 22). While going the rounds of the regal festivities, Ahab is suddenly notified of another advance of his troublesome neighbors and foes at Damascus. His already ripened friendship with Jehoshaphat may now be utilized to good purpose. He invites his guest to go with him against Syria at Ramoth-gilead. After a fiasco with the prophets (1 Kings 22: 6-28) whom Ahab called in to satisfy the religious scruples of Jehoshaphat, and in spite of an adverse prophecy, the two kings set out for the fortress of Gilead. In the first shock of battle the royal-robed Jehoshaphat is attacked personally, and crying out in self-defense is let alone, while Ahab, though disguised, is mortally pierced by an arrow. The army of Israel suffers defeat and her king dies at even (1 Kings 22: 35). Jehoshaphat, humiliated and rebuked by a prophet for his rashness in allying himself with the wicked (2 Chron. 19: 1-3), returns to Jerusalem a wiser, if not a better man.

This courtly alliance between the two reigning houses did not terminate with the battle at Ramoth-gilead. The families of the two kings exchanged oriental courtesies and compliments. These formal greetings ripened into familiar acquaintances. The fascinating daughter of Ahab (and presumably of Jezebel), Athaliah, seized upon the affections of the son of Jehoshaphat and secured them for herself. In due time the

political alliance of the kings grew into a domestic alliance of their descendants. Jehoram brought his queen to the palace in Jerusalem. He was a reckless, vicious man, and a base, wicked king. Athaliah was another Jezebel religiously, and was bent on propagating at any cost the beliefs of her mother. Such a ruler menaced the life of Judah. Baal worship was transplanted from Israel, the Asherah were introduced and made to thrive even in the capital city. Athaliah threw the whole strength of her character against the worship of Jehovah, and for a time it seemed almost as if Judah had succumbed to the worship of Baal. Political reversals gave Athaliah full reins and she held them, too, until a revulsion of sentiment and strength hurled her from her throne, rooted up her hated idolatry, and consigned both to the shades of destruction.

5. *The oral prophets.*—The political and religious revolutions of the earlier reigns of the divided kingdom are tempered here and there by the fire of a prophet. The king at the head of his army, or in his palace, or in his chariot, often met these specters, these walking rebukes. Both kingdoms were blessed with their intermittent appearance and their healthful and life-giving words. They were checks on impetuous kings (*cf.* 2 Chron. 11: 4), warning voices against pride on the part of victorious generals (*cf.* 2 Chron. 15: 1-2), predictors of the doom awaiting the rebellious (*cf.* 1 Kings, chap. 14,) rebukers of good-intentioned but mistaken rulers (*cf.* 2 Chron. 19: 1-3), denouncers in scathing terms of the wilfully disobedient and idolatrous Israel (*cf.* 1 Kings 21: 17-26), and openly and fatally antagonistic to the devotees of Baal and Asherah (*cf.* 1 Kings 18: 17-40). They were the terror of such kings as Jeroboam and Ahab, whose consciences they probed to the center, and compelled their acknowledgment of the evil of their ways. To righteous and well-meaning kings they were a joy and a support (*cf.* 2 Chron. 20: 15-18). They were almost the quickened conscience of the two kingdoms, the authoritative proclaimers of the will of the Divine Ruler of his people. When Baalism was claiming its armies of victims, single-handed, yet divinely armed, the prophets scorched with burning words the infamous leaders and fearlessly denounced

that leprosy of the nation. In every part of the land their presence was a signal for respect, their words were accepted as authority, even by kings whose regard for Jehovah had fallen into the background (*cf.* 1 Kings 21: 27-29). Under the persecutions of Jezebel they multiplied at an alarming rate, so that before the translation of Elijah they numbered some hundreds. The effect of this "salt of the earth" was to preserve intact the better elements of the two kingdoms, and thus to guarantee to them a brighter future, and an anticipated perpetuity.

6. *The revolution of Jehu.*—The dynasty of Omri had scored its success in the founding of Samaria, and in the establishment of a state religion, though it had fallen into the clutches of the powerful Shalmaneser II of Assyria. But its work and waste were done. A son of a prophet by mysterious actions and words lays the burden of executing the guilty house on Jehu, commander-in-chief of the Israelitish army now encamped at Ramoth-gilead. In hot-headed haste he sets out for Jezreel, the summer residence of the now wounded king Joram. Warned by the watchman of Jehu's furious approach Joram and his visiting nephew, Ahaziah of Judah, hastily mount a chariot to meet the on-comer. In reply to an inquiry, "Is it peace, Jehu?" (2 Kings 9: 22), the vehement and fierce general hurls his charges against the whole house. They turn to flee, but the unerring aim of the skilled archer pierced Joram's heart with an arrow, and he fell down dead in the chariot. Ahaziah fled, was wounded on the way, and died at Megiddo. The notorious Jezebel, hearing of the arrival of the general, artistically arranges her toilet and peers at him from a window. Her biting sarcasm drew forth from Jehu the command, "Throw her down" (2 Kings 9: 33). From a window she was dashed down to the pavement of the street. With his blood-bespattered horses "he trode her—the daughter of a king—under foot." A sickening tragedy, but a fitting climax to her infamous and infernal career! The reckless rage of her murderer left her mangled form exposed on the highway, and he went in to "eat and drink." The roving dogs of the city improve their time, so that when the buriers

come to bury her Elijah's prophecy (*1 Kings 21:23*) had received its horrible fulfilment.

Jehu had only begun to execute his prophet's orders (*cf. 2 Kings 9:7-10*). To Samaria he sent letters demanding the heads of the seventy sons of Ahab. In fear and in trembling the elders of the city capture and decapitate these seventy men and in baskets carry the heads to Jezreel. Two ghastly piles are made of them at the entrance of the gate, and Jehu, upon sight of them, feigns innocence. To complete his atrocious designs at Samaria, he gave no quarter either to the great men of Ahab, or to his familiar friends, or to his priests. His murderous mandate was summary, and its execution sweeping. On his way to Samaria he meets forty-two kinsmen of the dead Ahaziah of Judah. Their kinship was their doom. In cold blood they are all brutally murdered.

The limits of Jehu's orders as an executioner had already been left far in the rear. But the royal assassin was still relentless and bloodthirsty. There remained one more collection of possible victims. By a truculent deception he announces a great sacrifice to Baal. Every worshiper throughout all Israel is required, on pain of death, not to be missing on this occasion. The sanguinary moves of this new ruler had already terrorized the populace, and the devotees of Baal rally to the support of their new adherent (*cf. 2 Kings 10:18*). The house of Baal was filled with eager faithful worshipers of their god. Clad in the sacred vestments they offered their sacrifices and burnt offerings. The wily Jehu stationed about the house fourscore men, armed for murderous work. At the end of the sacrificial service Jehu said to the guard, "Go in and slay them" (*2 Kings 10:25*). The eighty assassins rush in on the unsuspecting worshipers and massacre them one and all in cold blood. The pillars of Baal are broken down, and the house desecrated.

Thus this executioner slew not only the house of Ahab, but the men of every grade, political and religious, to whom Ahab had entrusted important functions in his kingdom. Jehu had now exterminated in Israel the house of Omri, and had dealt a stunning blow to the religious establishment of Jezebel.

7. *The expansion of power and territory under Uzziah of Judah and Jeroboam II of Israel.*—The next wave of importance which rolled over Judah and Israel was the simultaneous prosperity of the two kingdoms. The inaction of the kings of Assyria gave Jeroboam II a cherished opportunity to recover and hold lost territory. He restored and embodied in his own kingdom all the territory from the entering in of Hamath to the sea of the Arabah (Dead Sea). His influence and power traced almost the northern and eastern boundary lines of the old Solomonic empire. The increased revenue and hence luxury of the nobility are vividly pictured in the words of the prophet Hosea.

While Jeroboam II was reveling in his successes, Uzziah of Judah, a king of kingly parts, was establishing himself in the affections of his people and in the throne of his kingdom. His prudence and political wisdom, his piety and push made him to prosper. His army battered down Philistine fortresses, and compelled the submission of the Arabians of the desert. He swept around until his fame commanded the respect of Ammonites and Egyptians. His boundary lines in the south and south-east were almost a duplicate of those of Solomon. His interior fortifications and defenses gave his kingdom a solidity unknown since the days of Jehoshaphat. The combined kingdoms of Judah and Israel at this time almost, if not entirely, equaled in territory and power the Solomonic empire. They also furnish us, by contrast, one kingdom adhering to Jehovah, and the other to the ways of Jeroboam the son of Nebat.

8. *The writing prophets.*—In these fruitful and prosperous times the prophets no longer simply speak their messages, but embody them in written form for use in other times and places. They may have delivered them orally before writing, though the form cannot always decide for us. These prophets are no longer hermits, nor are they collected in great bodies. They are now among the most influential of citizens, in politics as well as in religion. They are often chief advisers of rulers, and their counsel is treated with peculiar regard. Their words carry the power of conviction, and their spirit is a stranger to fear. From this time to the exile they tower above all other characters at

court, on the streets, in the army, in worship. To them all others yield in matters of right and righteousness.

9. *The reform of Hezekiah.*—From the time of Uzziah the kings of Judah had descended on a chute until Ahaz had shot into the mire of the pit. Saturated and steeped in the reeking slime of a conglomerate idolatry, and humbled, disgraced, and bleeding in the claws of the lion of Nineveh, Ahaz is a picture of a deserving despair. Stripped of his territory, shorn of his power, scorned by his people, he passed away, and was denied a burial in the tombs of the kings.

Hezekiah came to the throne "for such a time as this." The idolatrous filth of Ahaz' reign had filled even the temple court. Hezekiah, encouraged, doubtless, by the words of a zealous Isaiah, is undaunted by the enormity of the task. The temple is opened, the courts and sacred places are swept clean of their pollution. The alters are replaced, the sacrifices offered, the singers reorganized, the temple officials restored, and the likeness of earlier days reinaugurated. The passover, too, is observed with unwonted joy and duration, and the bounding worshipers join the ranks of idol smashers who attempt to undo some of the dastardly work of Ahaz. Thus within a short time this God-fearing son of a godless father restored and reinvigorated the public religious life of Judah.

10. *The fall of Samaria.*—The close of the reign of Jeroboam II was the signal for the rise of anarchy in the ten tribes. This death-dealing monster stalked full armed through the palaces of her kings. Assassination and usurpation followed in rapid succession. The approach and conquest of the Assyrian army of Tiglathpileser III added to the dismay and the distress of the little kingdom. Uncertainties and strained nerves sapped the strength of Israel, and made her the easy victim of political intriguers and international quarrels. Robbed of their freedom, suspicious of their leaders, and sick at heart, the nation plunged into excesses of all kinds. Tiglathpileser III dictated their policy, their rulers, and their annual tribute to the coffers of Assyria. On the death of this monarch another master and ally was sought in the person of the king of Egypt. Shalmaneser

IV scented the scheme and the rebel Hoshea was seized and imprisoned, his land scourged, and his capital besieged. After two years of investment a new and a more aggressive king appears at Nineveh, Sargon II. In the first year of his reign, Samaria, the last important element of the ten tribes, capitulated, was plundered, and the inhabitants taken captive to the Assyrian royal city. Thus, steeped in idolatry, chastised by the nations, torn by civil strife, traitorous to her pledges, and rebellious against God, the ten tribes were captured and scattered to the winds among the nations of the East.

11. *The slumping of Manasseh.*—The brilliant career of Hezekiah, with his prophet-counselor Isaiah, in spite of the campaigns of Sennacherib, seemed to establish for Judah an era of prosperity. The generous and godly king enlisted the hearty support of a loyal people. At the end of his days he transferred to the twelve-year-old Manasseh a strong political kingdom. No sooner had the crown been placed on his brow than the long-time suppressed idolaters of Ahaz' day arose in their diabolic majesty. Encircled by such desperate influences, the youth readily yields to their requests. Insidiously the cause of idolatry gains the mastery, and the aggressors win the day. Manasseh falls a victim, and emulates the doings of his grandfather Ahaz. The Baalim, the Asheroth, and all emblems and marks of foreign worship are reinaugurated in all the land. Enchantments and sorcery and wizards and witchcraft and familiar spirits are popularized and invoked. Moloch even receives his victims out of the sons of the king (2 Chron. 33:6). Jehovah worship and worshipers were crushed under the heel of Manasseh, and innocent blood flowed on the streets of the city of David. The house of the Lord was defamed and desecrated by the horrors of the idol and its devotees. Though threatened by prophets, this brutal idolater mocked at God, and rushed on in his mad course, dragging behind him the kingdom of Judah. King and people together sunk into the mire of the direst idolatry, until their very life was threatened with extinction.

12. *The rise of Josiah.*—The unsparing rod of Assyrian captivity, the revulsion of the better element against idolatrous

excesses, even against king Amon himself, repressed and held back the flood of virulent evils. Surrounded by this spirit of self-assertion on the part of the righteous, Josiah assumed the crown. A company of God-fearing men and women, among them Huldah the prophetess, and Jeremiah, held with a divine tenacity to the reins of power. Their gathering strength and their burning zeal attracted many timid yet true worshipers of Jehovah. Their ranks were rapidly filling up, and their own fire kindled in the hearts of many new volunteers. Josiah, with this armored host, was already wiping out the dark spots of debasing idol worship. The temple was renovated, reopened, and the new-old service established. The magazine which supplied him with the most powerful weapons was the book of the law found in the débris of the neglected temple. But with this discovery our theme receives its period.

Summary.—In a bird's-eye view of the period of Israel's history from 950–621 B. C., we locate the following as some of the outstanding facts of most importance: (1) the disruption of the Solomonic kingdom; (2) the founding and growth of the dynasty of Omri; (3) the religious policy of Jehoshaphat; (4) the alliances between Judah and Israel; (5) the activity of the oral prophets; (6) the revolution of Jehu; (7) the prosperity of Judah and Israel under Uzziah and Jeroboam II respectively; (8) the writing prophets; (9) the reforms of Hezekiah; (10) the fall of Samaria; (11) the defection of Manasseh; and (12) the rise of Josiah. These, in the range of the history of Judah and Israel, rise above all other peaks, and most strongly impress the student of that variable period.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF IMPORTANT EVENTS, 950–621 B. C.

Disruption of the Solomonic kingdom,	- - - - -	938
Founding of the dynasty of Omri,	- - - - -	ca. 889
Accession of Ahab,	- - - - -	ca. 877
Accession of Jehoshaphat,	- - - - -	876
Ahab's defeat in the battle of Karkar,	- - - - -	ca. 854
Revolution of Jehu,	- . - - -	ca. 842
Athaliah's supremacy in Jerusalem,	- - - - -	842–836

Accession of Jeroboam II of Israel,	- - - - -	<i>ca.</i> 780
Accession of Uzziah of Judah,	- - - - -	<i>ca.</i> 782
Beginning of Amos' activity,	- - - - -	<i>ca.</i> 765
The campaign of Tiglathpileser III in the West,	- - - - -	742
Beginning of Isaiah's activity,	- - - - -	<i>ca.</i> 740
Accession of Ahaz,	- - - - -	<i>ca.</i> 735
Fall of Damascus before Assyria,	- - - - -	732
Accession of Hezekiah,	- - - - -	<i>ca.</i> 727
Fall of Samaria before Sargon II,	- - - - -	722
Beginning of Micah's activity,	- - - - -	<i>ca.</i> 720
Sennacherib's invasion of Judah,	- - - - -	701
Accession of Manasseh,	- - - - -	<i>ca.</i> 698
Assyrian captivity of Manasseh,	- - - - -	<i>ca.</i> 647
Accession of Josiah,	- - - - -	<i>ca.</i> 640

HELPS TO THE STUDY OF THE EARLIER PROPHETS.

AMOS, HOSEA, MICAH, ISAIAH (1-39), NAHUM.

By W. MUSS-ARNOLT,
The University of Chicago.

This list includes the more important books and articles published within the last twenty-five years, special attention being given to Isaiah (1-39).

NOTE.—To save space, the following abbreviations have been used in this list: *AR.* = Andover Review; *BS.* = *Bibliotheca Sacra*; *BW.* = Biblical World; *ET.* = Expository Times; *Exp.* = Expositor; *HR.* = Homiletic Review; *JBL.* = Journal of Biblical Literature; *JQR.* = Jewish Quarterly Review; *OTSt.* = Old Testament Student; *PQ.* = Presbyterian Quarterly; *PR.* = Presbyterian Review; *P. and R. R.* = Presbyterian and Reformed Review; *RB.* = Revue biblique; *REJ.* = Revue des études juives; *St. u. Kr.* = Theolog. Studien und Kritiken; *Theol. St.* = Theolog. Studien; *Th. Ti.* = Theolog. Tijdschrift; *ZATW.* = Zeitschrift für Alttest. Wissenschaft.

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Aids to Bible Readers.

THE FORESHADOWINGS OF THE CHRIST. VII.

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Hopes of the exiles realized and disappointed in the return.—Building of the temple.—The Messianic King.—Prophetic visions of the divine advent.—The overthrow of kingdoms.—Hope undying though cast down.—Conclusion; foreshadowings as a whole.—The method justified.—The picture sketched.—Was it all a “splendid failure”?—The real significance.

VIII. FORESHADOWINGS FROM POST-EXILIC TIMES.

1. *Hopes realized and disappointed.*—The time of blessing of which all prophets had testified was now come. The period of distress, of suffering, and of punishment through which the sinful nation must pass had been accomplished, and the redeemed people could now expect the fulfilment of that which had been promised them.

a. The first element of the programme was realized when the Babylonian Empire was overthrown by Cyrus the Persian in 538, and the exiles were permitted by the decree of the conqueror to *return* to their old home. A party of about fifty thousand set forth and accomplished the journey successfully. This was of course only a part of the exiles in the east, but it consisted naturally of those who were both supremely interested and least encumbered with material hindrances. A very significant number of them were priests. It was no doubt expected that others would follow as rapidly as circumstances would permit. The first acts of the newly arrived company were performed with alacrity and with zeal. Preparations were made for the building of the temple, the altar was set up, and worship established, and the beginnings of settlement were made.

But at this point the fulfilment of the prophetic anticipations seemed to halt. The country was desolate, the city in ruins. The expected fertility of the land must needs be a matter of slow growth. Houses must be built, homes made, and the comparatively small

number of available workers made progress difficult. The years of devastating war conducted by the great armies of the east, or the marauding bands of the petty nations adjacent, had reduced the available resources of the land to their lowest state. No miraculous outpouring of fertility, no divine manifestations of recuperative forces, gladdened and encouraged their hearts. The fulfilment fell far short of the anticipation.

b. The one great aim and hope of the exiles in returning to their native land was to restore their nationality and to revive their worship. The central element in the latter expectation was the *building of the temple*. It was understood that they who had returned were to set about this work at once, but the very things in which they were disappointed with respect to the restoration on its material side hindered the fulfilment of their plans in this respect. They must have houses to shelter them, food to keep them alive. These were not easy to obtain, and so the higher and more ideal element in their expectation faded away. The temple was not built, and that which was to accompany and follow its erection did not appear.

Under the inspiration of two prophets, Haggai and Zechariah, the returned exiles did set about building the temple in the year 520. The enterprise was favored by the Persian king Darius, who provided materials and money, and it was completed in 516. So in this respect, at least, the hopes of the fathers had been fulfilled, even though the temple thus erected was less splendid than that of Solomon, and the means of carrying on the worship properly must be provided by the Persian government.

c. A third almost equally essential element in the programme of the return and the reestablishment of the worship was the revival of the *national life*, the seating of the son of David upon the throne, the recovery of independence, and the glorification of Israel among the nations. It was this, perhaps, which was dearer to the hearts of the prophets than anything else. A son of David did, indeed, lead the exiles back, and as governor under the Persians he managed the affairs of the community. But there were no signs of any larger future until the occasion came which stirred the prophets to call upon the people to build the temple. Then, indeed, they believed the hour was arrived for the son of David to receive his right, and they declared, in statements which were sufficiently clear to those who lived in hope, that the prince would take the crown and the kingdoms of the world yield to him. But such was not to be the case. The Persian Empire with-

stood all shocks, and the organization established by Darius made it firmer than ever. In the new arrangements made by him the prince of David's line passed out of sight. A Persian governor took his place at the head of the community, and the national independence was spoken of no more.

It is this appalling difference between the confident expectations as to the post-exilic age and its actual circumstances and events that makes this period the most dreary of all the epochs of the people's life. This may also account, at least in part, for the few memorials that have come down to us in most unsatisfactory form from this period. Nevertheless it was an age of the utmost significance, equal in this respect, if not superior, to the exile period, because the adjustment of the people to this new condition of things, their solution of the riddle of their future, was accomplished in so marvelous a way and had so important an influence upon the future.

2. Upon the *critical events of this period* of the post-exilic age light is thrown only at intervals. Besides what is told us about the return, the narrative of which, indeed, in Ezra, chaps. 1—3, comes from a very late date, there are three epochs concerning which something more than inference and general knowledge is possible. These are the work of Haggai and Zechariah, the prophetic activity of Malachi, and the times of Ezra and Nehemiah.

a. *Haggai and Zechariah.*—The moment in the history of the Persian Empire taken by these prophets to stir up the Jews to their duty was a most critical one. Cambyses had died on his return march from Egypt. A usurper, pretending to be a brother of Cambyses, had seized the Persian throne. Darius, a distant relative of the royal house, by the aid of devoted nobles, had succeeded in reaching the castle in which the usurper was holding court and had slain him. Darius was thereupon proclaimed king, but his accession was the signal for a tremendous convulsion in the empire, province after province revolting. It was necessary for him in the first two or three years of his reign to engage in what was practically a struggle for the unity of the empire (B. C. 521–519). Babylon twice revolted. The west seems to have remained faithful, or at least indifferent, but the news of the great eastern commotions produced its effect there. It was a world-crisis such as would have stirred Amos or Isaiah, and it did rouse into religious enthusiasm two of the religious leaders, prophets of Judah. All of Haggai's sermons were preached in 520, from the sixth to the ninth month, and in the same year, in the eighth

month, Zechariah's voice was heard. They called upon the people to begin at once upon the temple, with the assurance that Jehovah was with them. Only thus could the divine promises be fulfilled which the prophets of old had uttered. These prophecies involved the restitution of the old independence and glory of the nation, as well as the reestablishment of the temple service. The beginning of the fulfilment of all this Haggai and Zechariah saw in the commotions of the great empire of Persia. These world-shakings would only fill the temple with the desirable things of the nations. Zerubbabel, the Davidic prince, was to be preserved, exalted, crowned. In the general breaking up of the empire these prophets saw the assurance that Jehovah was taking the initiative, and that the people must do their part if the programme was to be carried out in full.

In the midst of the renewal of energy secured by their prophetic exhortations the satrap of Syria appeared at Jerusalem to investigate the new movement. He would naturally ask himself whether this meant the beginning of rebellion in the west; and, while he did not forbid the continuance of the work when the Jews gave their authority for carrying it on, he yet sent a message to Darius inquiring as to the authenticity of the Jewish claim of permission from Cyrus, and also as to whether it was advisable to permit further activity in this line. There is a story in one of the apocryphal books that Zerubbabel was at the court of Darius at this time and pleaded the Jewish cause. He seems to have remained there. At any rate it is remarkable that nothing more is heard of him. In Zechariah's series of visions found in Zech. 1:7—6:15, announced to the people while the temple was building, and possibly in the interval of the waiting for the answer from Darius, while it is promised that Zerubbabel shall finish the temple, the crowns are placed, not upon his head, but upon that of Joshua, the high priest, with the strange saying that between him and the occupant of the throne there shall be peace. Whatever may be the explanation of details the whole situation points to the expectation of both prophets that Zerubbabel is to be the king of the new state about to come into being. This, however, as has been remarked, did not come to pass. The Persian Empire remained intact, and, under the organization of Darius, stronger than ever. The temple, to be sure, was completed in 516, and with its completion darkness settled down upon the life at Jerusalem.

b. Malachi.—We have from the hand of the prophet who calls himself Malachi a prophecy which suggests a critical moment in the

history of the community, and also illustrates the manner of life at Jerusalem. Skepticism and indifference were at work within. The offerings for the temple were grudgingly given and imperfect in quality. The leaders of the people had begun to cultivate alliances with non-Jewish families about them, even divorcing their own wives for this purpose. Against all these the prophet raises his voice in denunciation, announcing the certainty and immediateness of divine judgment. We are told, also, in a bit of narrative, that there was a genuine revival among the faithful, perhaps as a result of the work of the prophet.

It is a suggestive conjecture which places the time and work of Malachi in connection with Ezra 4:6. The reins had fallen from the hand of Darius, and the youthful Xerxes had just come to the throne. Egypt was in revolt, and the provinces were naturally ready to break away. Such a time as this would be particularly stimulating for the community at Jerusalem, and suitable for a prophet to appear in denunciation and exhortation. The reformation thus begun by Malachi may have led to an attempt to build the wall of Jerusalem a thing which was the occasion of the accusation lodged with Xerxes who seems promptly to have stopped all proceedings of that sort. And thus the work of Malachi seemed in vain.

c. Ezra and Nehemiah.—Malachi had spoken of a messenger, another Elijah, who was to come. Such an one did appear when Ezra came to Jerusalem in 458 with the law of Jehovah in his hand, by virtue of the authority of King Artaxerxes, to impose it upon the community at Jerusalem. The story of the beginning of his work is given us in his own words in the Book of Ezra, chaps. 7—9. The account of how he freed the community from the curse of the mixed marriages is told in the tenth chapter. While we hear nothing more directly of him and his work until much later, we are probably justified in placing in the interval that attempt to build the wall which is described in Ezra 4:8—23. Ezra, too, found it impossible to realize his plans and carry out the law unless the city was protected from outsiders by a wall. But Artaxerxes would not permit this extension of privileges, and doubtless Ezra's work for the time was intermittent. It was, however, later brought to a splendid conclusion when Nehemiah came in 445 from the east with the king's express permission to build the walls and with grants of aid with which to do it. The enterprise was carried through, and in 445—4 the community as a body entered into covenant to obey the law of Jehovah which Ezra had brought.

This was the birthday of Judaism. It meant for the people the opportunity and the obligation to carry out the will of Jehovah regarding his own proper worship and regarding the life of the community as regulated by him. Now, as never before, did Judah know how to be holy, and now, as never before, did it undertake to realize that holiness. Prophets had called upon the people to obey Jehovah, to practice righteousness, to depart from sin: but now they had before them, as never previously, plain and clear directions from Jehovah himself as to what his will was, in what righteousness consisted, how they might definitely fulfil his commands. It was a wonderful transformation of the religion of Jehovah forced upon the people by its situation, illustrating the marvelous vitality of those fundamental religious truths which, impressed upon Israel's life from the beginning, could reappear in this new and strange guise to run a long and splendid course.

3. *The foreshadowings of this period.*—It is of course in one sense fulfilment and not foreshadowing that we should expect in this age. But the slow course of the fulfilment during its earlier years stirred prophets to new promises and expectations. And when the fulfilment came, it was so far short of what was expected, and was wanting in so many particulars, that there was still room for hope.

a. Through the prophetic writings of the age runs a strong expectation of *the advent of Jehovah*. The second Isaiah had described his triumphal advance to lead the exiles home, and to take up his abode upon his holy hill. But the temple was not built, and it remained for the prophetic voices of Haggai and Zechariah to declare that if only the people will build the temple Jehovah will come to dwell therein; that, indeed, he was already with them in their efforts; that the temple would be more glorious now than ever before; and that from it Jehovah would send forth peace (Haggai 1:13; 2:6-9; Zech. 2:5, 12). Both prophets promise in connection with his advent the prosperity of the land. Jerusalem shall grow so great that any walls which might be built would be too narrow, since the dispersed of Israel in other lands are to flock home, and the wealth of foreign peoples is to flow into the land (Haggai 2:7; Zech. 2:1-5; 1:17; 8:1-8, 12, 20-23).

These expectations are echoed in a series of wonderful psalms which have been assigned to the period of the completion of the temple. They are the response to the voice of the prophet. Jehovah's world-wide sovereignty is proclaimed. He is God of Israel, he rules

upon Zion over man and nature. His rule is one of justice and equity. He loves righteousness and will see it prevail. The righteous, therefore, are objects of his special care. He saves and glorifies them. "Let him, then, be worshiped by us, for he is our God. Let us be glad before him, for all things make for our salvation." (Pss. 93—100.)

b. This age looks forward to *a great change* which is to precede Jehovah's advent. Such critical epochs of overthrow are, indeed, part of the prophetic expectation in all periods. Punishment is to fall upon the earth, including Israel and Judah, before the latter days come,—is the announcement of Amos. The Assyrian is to be utterly destroyed before Jerusalem is glorified,—is the expectation of Isaiah. But now it is not so much a particular people whose fate is to be decided before the glory of Jehovah is revealed. The vision of this age is extended. Only a world-catastrophe involving peoples not immediately concerned with Israel can satisfy its outlook. Ezekiel had some such thought as this in mind when he brought up King Gog with his hosts to be annihilated before Jerusalem. Judah in Babylon was rather a passive spectator of the contest of the nations which was to free her from captivity. So, in this age, we have the pictures of universal war from Zechariah and the convulsions of contending kingdoms described by Haggai, all of which are to usher in the era of Jerusalem's glory, the age of peace. These general and vague anticipations are usually called "apocalyptic," and they are the beginning of a long series of such forms of predictive utterance. A much later and more highly colored vision of this sort is given in Zechariah, chaps. 12—14.

c. The old hope of the *revival of the ancient institutions* of Israel is felt in this last age. How the two prophets, Haggai and Zechariah, looked forward to the crowning of Zerubbabel as the messiah of Jehovah, the king of the new nation! He is the one whom Jehovah regards with intense solicitude, who is his signet ring, who is the "branch" of the Davidic house upon whom the hopes of all depend (Haggai 2:23; Zech. 3:8, 12). The prophet, too, reappears. He is to be the "messenger," in Malachi's words, who will prepare the way for the coming of Jehovah. A second Elijah will come to bring about a great revival and reconciliation between God's people, and thus usher in the era of blessing (Mal. 3:1; 4:5). The same prophet who desired the king saw also a great place for the priest. In the day of the revived kingdom the priest was to be an ally and helper of the monarchy (Zech. 3:7, 8; 6:12, 13).

d. In looking back over the foreshadowings of this age, what strikes one forcibly is not so much the scantiness of the material or the comparative narrowness of the outlook, but rather the *persistence of hope* for the future which was able to outlive the great disappointments of the return. In the midst of discouragements Judah persevered in hoping for the coming of Jehovah and the realizing of the promises of the past. The prophetic vision in one sense took a larger sweep than ever before, and if a tinge of severity, indiscriminate in its application, is discernible in the apocalyptic utterances (*e. g.*, Zech. 14:12), it is also true that with the concentration of their life upon the fulfilment of the law the faithful grew more and more certain that the blessings promised by Jehovah would be secured by the community.

IX. THE FORESHADOWINGS AS A WHOLE.

At the conclusion of these papers it may be profitable to consider some more general points which concern no one period and its ideas, but need for their background the entire body of Old Testament Messianic teachings.

I. The task which was set forth at the beginning may be recalled. It was the study of the foreshadowings in the Old Testament from a particular point of view, the selection of one out of several methods of studying the subject. The method selected was the historical one, that is, the study of these teachings as they were connected with, and sprang out of, historical events in which the seers took part or in view of which they spoke. This choice necessarily involved limitation of the field. Some who have read these papers may have felt disappointed that some considerations which were legitimate and germane to the study of Messianic prophecy did not appear, and that emphasis was laid too strongly upon certain other aspects of the subject. Perhaps such students need to be reminded of the definite lines which our study has laid down for itself. Their objections in this light may lose their force.

A final word may be said in justification of the choice of the method. It has been amply demonstrated that Messianic prophecy is historical in its development. It has been shown how each age had its outlook, each prophet or singer had his background, how this outlook in every case was conditioned by the historical forces and elements of the age, how the background of the speaker determined the direction, the emphasis, and the form of his thought. Isaiah foresaw

as he did because he lived in the Assyrian period; Jeremiah looked forward to a future enlivened by his own experience and observation; Zechariah painted his brilliant pictures with colors of the Persian age; and all of these men in these messages sought to encourage, warn, and stimulate the people of their own day.

II. It may again be remarked that, while a limitation was thus set upon our studies in one direction, in another respect the subject was extended far beyond what is ordinarily included under the term "Foreshadowings" of the Christ, or "Messianic Prophecy." Everything connected with the future, with the kingdom of God to come, in all its aspects has been regarded as coming within the scope of this study. And in this broad view, how many have been the various elements contributing to this larger picture! Shall we recall them?

The most general conception of *man* in his ideal character and nature as created and inspired of God, ruler of creation, a little lower than the divine beings, under immediate divine protection, dwelling in Jehovah's presence (Psalm 91), sitting at his right hand; and, when fallen from his high estate and doomed to suffer, enlivened and encouraged by the promise of redemption to be wrought out through his own seed, under the gracious forgiving mercy of God —such is one great panel in this picture. Then come all those details which have for their inspiration the *nation* and its career; the fruitful land in which it is to dwell, the gift of Jehovah; the nation, his "son;" the people of Jehovah, a chosen means of universal blessing to mankind, the messenger of the true God to the world, the center of light, whither the nations shall come up, from which peace shall be proclaimed in all the earth; a conquering people, ruling the world, and, if faithless and punished, yet in its suffering repentant, and in its repentance suffering on behalf of those who sin, still the object of the Father's love, punished because loved, and then finally restored to its land, and realizing to the full its unity with Jehovah, its world-wide mission of salvation. And then, again, the drawing out of the various *institutions* of this national life in their promise and potency, the priest as a permanent source of blessing, the mediator of divine mercy; the prophet speaking face to face with Jehovah; the king of the line of David ever abiding upon the throne, the leader of the victorious nation, the judge among the contending forces of earth, the intimate companion of Jehovah, yea, his son, behind whom he stands in all the infinite might of his majesty. Such is a hasty sketch

of some of the details in the almost infinitely varied and shifting scenes of the prophetic outlook.

III. The student of these Foreshadowings who approaches them from the historic point of view must be prepared to meet the question which here, more than in other modes of approaching and considering the subject, forces itself upon his attention, viz., Is not all that has been thus gathered together and presented in its historical development only a series of splendid failures to grasp reality? We have seen from age to age prophetic anticipations gleam and glow, only to fade away and disappear; and the particular historic situation in each case which has determined the prophet's words only makes more clear the failure in realization. What shall be said to this? Why is there more in all this study than the testimony of failure?

a. No one can fail to have observed from the background of the historic situation in each instance what might be called the large language of the speaker. The dress has been too ample for that which it clothed. These seers used words of wide import, which are not to be limited in concrete and immediate fulfilment. The very amplitude of their vocabulary, the brilliancy of their idealized situation, testify in themselves to the impossibility of adequate fulfilment in the conditions of their origin.

b. The general unity of the conception in the midst of the bewildering variety of details must be considered. Wide stretches of time, marvelously varied conditions of life, different classes and conditions of men—from all this there comes out a philosophy of history and life, a view of the ideal conditions and relations of humanity, of the character and purposes of Deity and his relations to men, which is of one general type, and a type which, it may be added, is the highest presented by any nation of antiquity.

c. What lies behind the two considerations already advanced is that all these expectations, these interpretations of the past and foreshadowings of the future, are infused with a spiritual element which is, after all, the essential thing in them, and which gives them their permanent significance. These seers felt within them the stirrings of that larger soul, their imaginations were quickened by supreme ideals, and hence they wrote so broadly and moved unconsciously toward a common goal.

d. The fact that this hope did persist from age to age in spite of disappointment, that the series of "splendid failures" was continued steadily, fearlessly, triumphantly, is testimony to the fact that they were not failures.

e. The testimony of the New Testament as to the reality and permanence of the Messianic outlook of the Old Testament is unspeakably important, since it is the testimony of those who lived in, and were a part of, the world's greatest spiritual movement. They shared its insight, breathed its inspiration, and were thus able, as were no others before them, to behold the reality and the triumph of these their predecessors in the vision of that which is to come. Their forms of expression and their methods of grasping the large and rich ideal of the Old Testament may have been of their own times, imperfect, human, but this does not affect their verdict as to its essential character.

IV. From this point of view, finally, we may be able to determine the importance of the Foreshadowings of Christ, Messianic prophecy, in the history of the Jewish and Christian religion. It is not something tacked on, a kind of anomalous excrescence which is appended to the Old Testament religion, external to it, for the purpose of proving the divinity of Christ and the permanent and essential truth of the Christian religion. If it is only this, it is nothing. For, when looked at from this point of view alone and studied with this purpose, its contributions are meager and ambiguous. No, it is the very essence and life of the Old Testament Book. It is the vital breath, the ideal inspiration of the Old Testament life. It makes the Old Testament a book of permanent comfort, as it made the Old Testament religion a religion of hope, of high expectations, of divine trust and inspiration. It links Old and New Testament together in an indissoluble unity, not so much because the one is preparation and the other fulfilment, but because the same spirit pervades both, the spirit of aspiration and trust. The New Testament from the vantage ground of the Saviour's advent looks forward with clearer vision and more assured hope to the larger realizations whose foreshadowings Old and New Testaments alike record. Both meet in the higher Messianic expectation of the kingdom of God, which is the kingdom of the Christ — still only foreshadowed.

The Council of Seventy.

The Maine Ministers' Institute, meeting August 30 to September 7, at Cobb Divinity School, Lewiston, Maine, has affiliated itself with the American Institute. It announces a full programme of twenty-five lectures under twelve instructors.

The Nebraska Chautauqua Assembly at Crete, Neb., has again placed its biblical instruction under the Institute. The work will be conducted by Professor W. D. Mackenzie, of the Chicago Theological Seminary. His subject will be The Consciousness of Jesus and The Consciousness of his Apostles.

At the Lakeside Assembly Professor Sylvester Burnham, of Colgate University, will give instruction in Hebrew and the English Bible.

A new school will be organized under Dr. H. L. Willett, of The University of Chicago, at the Bethany Park Assembly, Bethany Park, Ind., August 2-7. He will give six lectures upon The Beginnings of Christianity.

A total number of twelve schools will be held under the direction of the Institute. A full announcement of these will be found in the advertising pages of this periodical.

A summer school of theology is announced in connection with the seminaries at San Anselmo and Oakland, Cal. Although the school is not under the auspices of the Institute, Professor R. R. Lloyd, a member of the Council of Seventy, will give lectures. Other instructors are Professors H. C. Minton, D.D.; George Movar, D.D.; W. H. Landon, D.D.; J. H. Kerr, D.D.; F. H. Foster, D.D.; T. F. Day, D.D.; W. W. Lovejoy, D.D.; C. G. Buck. The New Testament subjects are: The Second Coming as taught by Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels; The Genuineness and Canonicity of Second Peter; Peter in the Gospels and in the Acts; The Pauline Epistles—General Introduction; The Apology of Jesus. Old Testament subjects: The Laws of Prophetic Utterance; The Rise of Written Prophecy. General themes: Christianity and Mr. Spencer's Philosophy; Comparative Religion and the Christian Doctrine of the Scriptures; The Imagination and its Cultivation; Ritschl; Textualism; Hints on Reading and Preaching; Voice and Articulation.

The return from India of Rev. John Henry Barrows, a member of the General Chamber, will be of interest to all members of the Council. A full notice of his work in Asia appeared in the May number of the *BIBLICAL WORLD*.

The Minneapolis Local Board of the Institute announces three lectures by Bishop John H. Vincent, July 13 and 14, on *The Bible and How to Study and to Teach it*.

With the month of June the two popular Institute courses of reading and study for 1896-7 close. In the Outline Study Course a larger enrollment than in any previous year has been made. In this course three months have been devoted to the study of Job, two months to Proverbs, one month to the Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes, and the remaining three months to introduction and summarizing. A fair number have also pursued the reading course which took up *The Foreshadowings of the Christ in Old Testament History and Prophecy*.

In 1897-8 (October 1897 to June 1898) both courses will return to *The Life of the Christ*. Some changes in the required books upon the reading course have been made, and the course will be brought up to date in every way. The following are the required books for the year:

1. Introductory Essays, - - - - -	\$1.00
2. Harmony of the Gospels, Stevens and Burton, - - - - -	1.20
3. The Life and Times of Jesus the Christ, Edersheim, 2 vols.,	1.60
4. With Open Face, Bruce, - - - - -	1.20
5. THE BIBLICAL WORLD (July 1897-8), - - - - -	1.50 ¹

The annual fee for each of these courses is 50 cents. A special arrangement is made for ministers who wish to distribute announcements among the members of their congregations and to speak of the matter from their pulpits.

In the Outline Study Course the work will be based upon the Historical Outline from Stevens and Burton's *Harmony of the Gospels*. The material will be assigned for daily study by the Direction Sheets as usual and the monthly questions will be provided. Club programmes for each month will also be furnished.

This plan of study now receives the endorsement of practically all the great religious societies. With so popular a subject many thousands will in all probability avail themselves of the work.

¹Special price to members of the Guild.

Synopses of Important Articles.

THE MEANING OF THE PHRASE *τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου* (THE ELEMENTS OF THE WORLD) IN GAL. 4:3 AND COL. 2:8. By PROFESSOR E. Y. HINCKS, D.D. *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XV, 1896.

The nouns that occur in this phrase are used in Greek sometimes with an ethical and sometimes with a physical sense, and from the earliest times commentators have differed as to which force the apostle intended each of them to bear in these passages. Clement of Alexandria held that the ethical meaning was to be understood. Chrysostom, on the other hand, thought that "elements of nature," *i.e.*, sun and moon as determining days and seasons, were meant; and a number of eminent Fathers held a similar view. Lightfoot, although himself maintaining the ethical sense, regarded the trend of patristic interpretation as against this view, and sought to explain their support of the physical sense as due perhaps to the influence of a passage in the *Prædicatio Petri*; but this explanation is open to several serious objections. Other modern scholars who give the phrase the ethical meaning are De Wette, Meyer, B. Weiss, Schaubach, Ellicott, and Sanday, while Neander, Schneckenburger, Klöpper, Weizsäcker, Lipsius, Spitta, Hilgenfeld, and Ritschl prefer the physical meaning. Some of the latter group, however, hold, with Everling, that the spirits of the stars or elements are meant, rather than the elements themselves.

If we attempt to determine the meaning of the phrase in the light of these various suggestions and of recent discussion, we observe, first, that the phrase "the elements of the world" presents no difficulty, if "elements" be taken in the physical sense. The Book of Wisdom, traces of the influence of which have been found in Romans, in one passage uses "elements" (*στοιχεῖα*) and "world" (*κόσμον*) in close connection, and with the physical meaning; a fact which shows that the physical sense of the phrase was at least easily possible for Paul. In case "elements" be given the ethical sense, however, we are at once at a loss whether to give "world" the physical sense, with Lightfoot, who interprets: the rudiments of religion given by the physical world; or the ethical sense, with Meyer, who interprets: the elementary religious truths which belong to mankind in general. One difficulty with both these is that they go beyond even the ethical meaning of "ele-

ments" (*στοιχεῖα*), putting into the word a meaning it cannot be shown to possess; while if the term be given only its legitimate ethical force, the phrase becomes obscure or positively unintelligible. These difficulties throw us back upon the physical sense of the phrase as the most natural and intelligible, as far as the phrase itself is concerned.

We consider, second, whether the context supports this sense. In the fourth chapter of Galatians Paul seems by "elements" to refer to days, months, and seasons. As the religious observance of these would make the order of nature the determining factor in the religious life, "elements" seems to be used here in its physical sense. Similarly in Colossians the reference is to the perishable things of earth, the physical sense being suggested. We conclude, then, that in both epistles the phrase has the physical meaning. But "elements" in the physical sense has two meanings, and we must consider in the third place whether the word is here to bear the more general meaning, "elements," or the special meaning, "heavenly bodies." The latter would require that "world" be understood as meaning "universe." But the antithesis in Col. 2:20 makes decisively against this interpretation of the word as used in Paul's phrase. We may therefore set aside this interpretation, so popular with the Fathers, and understand "elements" in the general physical sense.

We must consider in the fourth place the suggestion of Klöpper, Spitta, Everling, and Lipsius that Paul, in Gal. 4:8, 9, identifies the "elements" with the heathen deities, to whom the Galatians had formerly been subject, and to whom they now wish again to be in subjection. That these heathen gods had real existence to Paul is clear from his words in 1 Cor. 10:19, where he speaks of them as "demons" (*δαιμόνια*). That he meant these heathen deities when he used "elements" (*στοιχεῖα*) in verse 9 seems clear from the clause immediately following, "whereunto ye desire to be in bondage over again," when this clause is given its natural and obvious meaning. There is nothing in Paul's theology that would conflict with this view that the elemental forces of the world are spirits; on the other hand many points in the epistles corroborate it; while it is in entire accord with the apostle's conception of nature.

Professor Hincks' article is discriminating and suggestive, if not at all points convincing. One wishes that the author had indicated how verse 10 of Galatians 4 would articulate with verses 8 and 9 as finally interpreted, and just how this reference to an apprehended relapse into heathenism relates itself to the anti-Judaistic tone of the general context.

E. J. G.

Work and Workers.

PROFESSOR MOULTON'S *Modern Reader's Bible* has already reached the Books of Jeremiah and of Ezekiel.

PROFESSOR G. H. GILBERT'S *Student's Life of Jesus* has had a very favorable reception in Great Britain.

PROFESSOR C. H. H. WRIGHT, D.D., has edited for the Religious Tract Society *The Writings of St. Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland*.

REV. H. M. LUCKOK has just put out through the firm of Longmans, Green & Co. two volumes on *The Footprints of the Apostles*.

PROFESSOR W. M. RAMSAY's latest work, *St. Paul, the Traveler and Roman Citizen*, has appeared in a third edition with a new preface.

THE UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY of the Presbyterian Church South will be removed from Hampden-Sidney, Va., to its new buildings at Richmond early next fall.

EMINENT Baptist and Congregational ministers have issued a series of essays on current theological themes which are published by Messrs. T. & T. Clark under the title of *The Ancient Faith in Modern Light*.

PROFESSOR GEORGE ADAM SMITH is to be congratulated on the issuance of his *Historical Geography of the Holy Land* in a fourth edition, with additions, corrections, and new index of Scripture references.

REV. F. H. WOODS, B.D., has published in book form (Messrs. T. & T. Clark) a series of articles which appeared originally in the *Expository Times*. The title of the volume is *The Hope of Israel: a Review of the Argument from Prophecy*.

PROFESSOR GEORGE SALMON, D.D., Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, has furnished another feast for his admirers and all New Testament workers by the issuance of *Some Thoughts on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (Murray).

The Old English Bible, by Rev. Francis A. Gasquet, D.D., has just appeared in London (J. C. Nimmo). It promises quaint and queer

information regarding early mediæval monastic libraries, as well as of the critical existence of the early English Bible.

PROFESSOR DR. P. SCHWARTZKOPFF's *The Prophecies of Jesus Christ* is an authorized translation of a deservedly popular German work. This is one of the new issues of Messrs. T. & T. Clark. The discussions revolve around the prophecies of his death, resurrection, second coming, and their fulfilment.

PRESIDENT ALVAH HOVEY, of Newton Theological Institution, has gone on an extensive tour through the Orient. After a career of great usefulness as theologian and exegete, Dr. Hovey will again thoroughly enjoy breathing the air, scanning the landscapes, treading the ground, and in spirit touching the characters who made so many spots precious to the lover of the Bible.

PROFESSOR MASPERO's (translation by Professor Sayce) *Struggle of the Nations* is sharply criticised in England because the critical positions taken are notably toned down from those in the original French. This was done, it is said, with Professor Maspero's consent. Professor Cheyne (in March *Expository Times*) finds fault with its critical positions. As it is, the two books, original and translation, seem to state different positions.

THE UNIVERSITY OF HALLE, Germany, is taking an advance step in the appointment to a lectureship on "evangelistic and mission work" of Dr. Warneck. He is the recognized authority in Germany on this theme, brought about mainly through his monthly publication, *Missionszeitschrift*. This is the first university in Germany to see and seize upon a lecturer for this department of labor, so far-reaching and final in its importance.

The Bible Folder is a suggestive and useful little document issued at Bloomington, Ill., by J. D. Templeton. It is a condensed brief of the main facts of Bible history for ready reference. There are few men who can turn to all the principal facts of the Scriptures without some aid. This small folder points you to the passage where these things are stated. But it should be said that this "help" is for those who are not comparatively familiar with the Bible.

THE SOUTHWESTERN BAPTIST UNIVERSITY at Jackson, Tenn., has organized a department of theology to be opened at the beginning of the next fall term. It is said by the officials in charge that work will begin with 150 matriculated students. The following faculty has been

chosen and elected: Rev. G. M. Savage, LL.D., chair of Hebrew; Rev. George H. Simmons, D.D., chair of homiletics and systematic theology; Professor W. E. Farrar, A.M., chair of Greek; Rev. D. Heagle, Ph.D., LL.D., chair of church history and biblical interpretation.

THE eleventh session of the International Congress of Orientalists will meet in Paris next September, 5-12. Circulars have already been sent out, naming the French committees of arrangements, also specifying the sections into which the entire congress will be divided for work. The following are mentioned: (1) languages and archæology of Aryan countries, (2) languages and archæology of the extreme Orient, (3) languages and archæology of Mussulman lands, (4) Semitic languages and archæology, (5) Egypt, and African languages, (6) Orient, Greece.—Relations of Hellenism with the Orient.—Byzantine, (7) ethnography, folklore of the Orient. The first, second, and fourth of these are subdivided for convenience and specialization. The organization of the body promises efficient service and a royal time for all who can attend. The secretaries are MM. G. Maspero, avenue de l'Observatoire 24, and Henri Cordier, place Vintimille, 3, Paris, France.

Book Reviews.

RECENT OLD TESTAMENT LITERATURE.

FROM the Verlag von J. Krause (Halle a. S.) we have received several brochures. *Die Composition des Buches Hiob, ein litterar-kritischer Versuch* (M. 2) is a pamphlet of 143 pages, in which the author (Dr. Ludwig Laue) examines the book critically from first chapter to last. He finally concludes to remove chap. 9: 2-24 and chap. 12, and set them after chaps. 25 and 27 respectively. In chaps. 25-28 the only genuine portions are 26: 1-4 and 27: 1-6. The Elihu speeches also are foreign to the body of the work. With all display of learning the author is too sure of the correctness of his hypothetical standard of literary criticism.—*Die Ebed-Jahwe-Lieder in Jesaias 40-66* (M. 1.) are tabulated as 42: 1-4; 49: 1-6; 50: 4-9; 52: 13—53: 12. The author (Martin Schian) sets out with Duhm's hypothesis, that these passages are post-exilic. Schian advances on Duhm by asserting that they do not belong where they are found. These chapters did not proceed from the same author as chaps. 40—55, but were all later productions, chap. 53 being the first in order of time. Copied on the margin they crept into the text.—*Der Rahmen des Deuteronomiums, litterarkritische Untersuchung über seine Zusammensetzung und Entstehung* (M. 1.) is a pamphlet of sixty-four pages by Dr. Carl Steuernagel. Anent a recent publication of Horst, the author critically examines the speeches of Deuteronomy, i. e., introducing and concluding chaps. 12—26. He partitions these sections on the basis of the use of the singular and plural, and assigns their union, if not their origin, to the redactor. Some considerable critical genius is manifested, but the results depend too largely upon a mere word and language basis of argument.—*Jüdisch-Babylonische Zaubertexte*, von R. Stübe, is a sixty-four page document on the magical inscriptions found mainly on the pottery brought from Babylonia. After describing nineteen such pieces of pottery, he gives us in transcription and translation one text of sixty-seven lines, followed by a comparison of it with Wohlstein in ZA IX, 11-27, and a commentary. The fragment he gives us is reasonably full though there is a lack of a comparison, which might have proved valuable, with similar texts in the cuneiform inscriptions.—*Zur Frage nach der Bedeutung der heiligen Schrift*, zwei Vorlesungen von Lic. Martin Schulze (M. 1.) discusses in the

first lecture the authority of Scripture as determined by practical Christian experience. The second sets forth the importance of historicocritical research for determining the value of the Scriptures. His conclusion is that the Scriptures are a deposit of a development of religious life of most value to those who apprehend them in connection with this development.

PRICE.

Jesus Christ during his Ministry. By EDMOND STAPFER, Professor in the Faculty of Protestant Theology at Paris. Translated by Louise Seymour Houghton. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1897. 12mo, pp. xxiv + 265. Price \$1.25.

This volume is the second in the series on Jesus Christ, his person, his authority, and his work, which Miss Seymour is translating from the French of Professor Stapfer. The first was reviewed in the April issue of this journal. The present volume is an attempt at a broadly interpretative study of the Ministry of Jesus, or rather of Jesus in his Ministry. "It is not my intention," the writer says, "to follow the usual method of lives of Jesus, setting forth the New Testament narratives in a more or less chronological order, and studying them critically and exegetically. I shall take the Bible story as a whole, and shall try to draw from the impression left by reading it a picture of the person of Christ, and especially a history of his thought." At another point he says that he shall particularly seek for that which the gospels have not said about Jesus, taking, however, as points of departure data given by the gospels themselves.

A book intelligently written upon this plan, presupposing all criticism of the sources as well as all detailed interpretation, could not fail to be helpful for the understanding of the life of Jesus. And Professor Stapfer has certainly given us a book that is both suggestive and stimulating. Whether it is more than this is doubtful. In his introduction he divides the ministry of Jesus into three periods distinguished by his attitude toward the parties of Judaism. In the first period he was opposed to the Sadducees, but sided with the Pharisees, was in fact "an itinerant Essene in his manner, a liberal Pharisee in his ideas." In the second period he broke with the Pharisees and came to perceive that he must attain his ends by dying. The third period, not treated of in this volume, is the final struggle and the last week. The writer emphasizes the element of faith in Jesus' life, representing him as having less of insight into the situation, less of plan and method, less of fore-

sight of the outcome of his efforts, more of experiment and feeling his way than most writers on the life of Jesus have recognized. It is certainly well that this element of Jesus' life should not be overlooked. The conception of Jesus' work as the mere carrying out of a programme fixed and foreseen in all its details from the beginning is certainly not the true one. But we are compelled to feel that Professor Stapfer has not done justice to the insight and foresight which the gospels attribute to Jesus, and that something of the experimentation and shifting of his ground which he attributes to Jesus rests upon an arbitrary transposition or misinterpretation of the material by Stapfer himself. The book abounds indeed in statements on various matters which, unsupported by any evidence advanced in connection with them, and certainly not obviously derivable from the gospels, raise serious questions of their correctness in the reader's mind, and leave him somewhat uncertain whether he is receiving bread or a stone.

The discriminating reader who knows where to question or to correct the author's statements will gain stimulus and help from the book. He who seeks a guide to follow implicitly will scarcely find it in Stapfer.

E. D. B.

The Arch of Titus and the Spoils of the Temple. By the late WILLIAM KNIGHT, M.A. With an introduction by the Lord Bishop of Durham. By-Paths of Bible Knowledge, XXII. New York and Chicago: F. H. Revell Co. Pp. 128. Price \$1.

The frontispiece of the May number of the *BIBLICAL WORLD*, representing the Arch of Titus, lends more than ordinary interest to this volume, which is an admirable discussion of everything connected historically, religiously, or archaeologically with that splendid monument of Roman history. The writer tells the story of the destruction of Jerusalem, of the triumph of Titus, describes the building and the details of the Arch, discusses the form, history, and significance of the Jewish sacred vessels. The work seems to be carefully done, and a large number of details from a great variety of sources are gathered up in a very convenient form. A brief introduction by Bishop Westcott interprets the larger significance of the whole scene. The author seems to us in some instances to indulge in a too literal interpretation of Scripture and to lay too much stress upon comparatively insignificant events, a thing, however, which is perhaps excusable in one who has made so thorough and special a study of this particular episode.

G. S. G.

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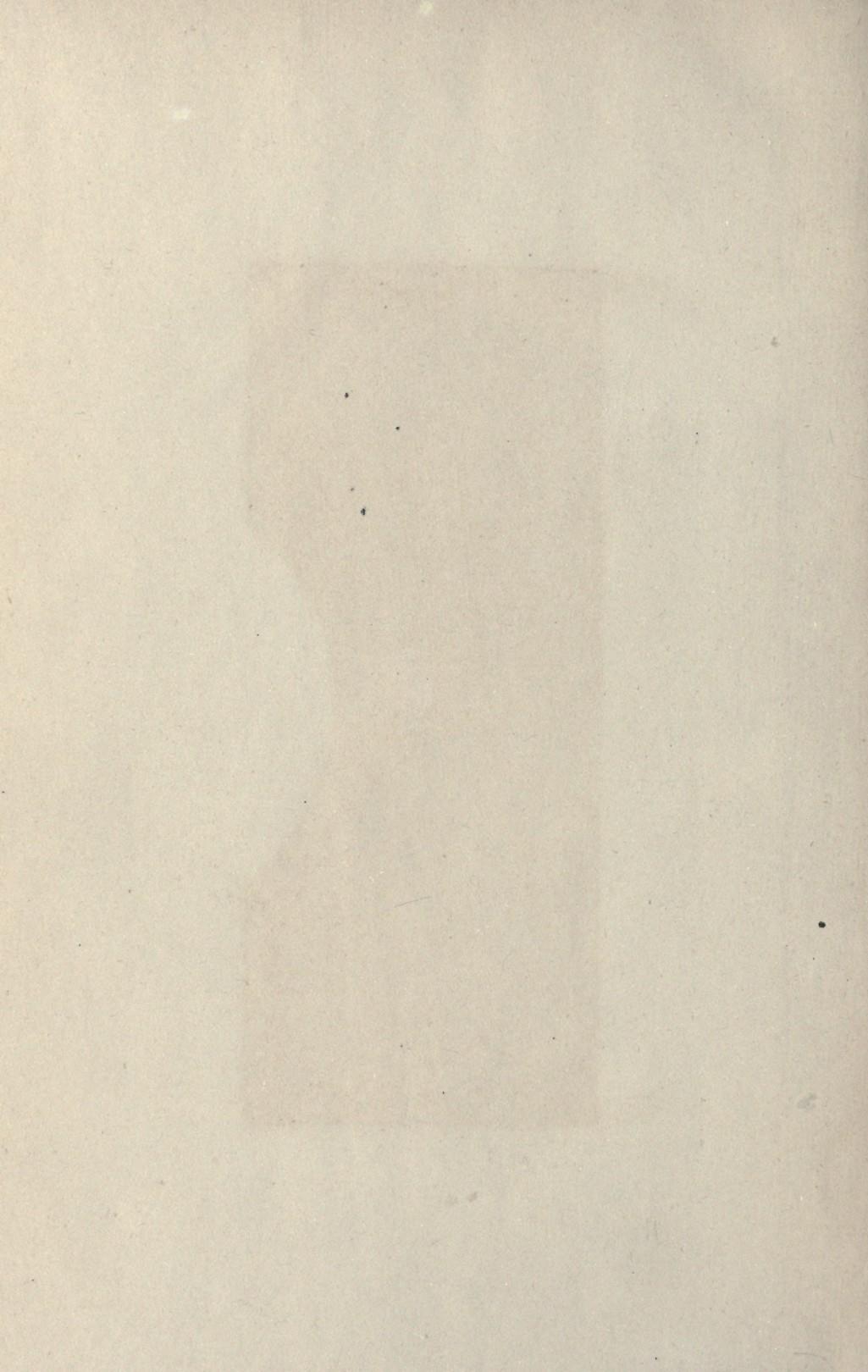
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